

A tour in America in 1798, 1799, and 1800

A TOUR IN AMERICA, IN 1798, 1799, AND 1800.

EXHIBITING SKETCHES OF SOCIETY AND MANNERS, AND A PARTICULAR
ACCOUNT OF THE AMERICAN SYSTEM OF AGRICULTURE, *WITH ITS RECENT
IMPROVEMENTS.*

262 570

BY RICHARD PARKINSON, LATE OF ORANGE HILL, NEAR BALTIMORE. (Author of the
"EXPERIENCED FARMER," &c.)

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VOL. I.

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TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF YORK.

SIR,

*IN times like these, when the wicked intentions and wild chimeras of misguided or
designing men have so widely disseminated principles of a fallacious equality as to shake*

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all Europe to its foundation, it becomes the duty of every reasonable person, especially the inhabitant of this truly free nation, to manifest a love of order, by proper expressions of regard for high station and illustrious ancestry. Yet it was not this consideration alone which made me solicitous to obtain that leave for the present dedication which your Royal Highness, with such ready condescension, has been pleased to grant me.

In the following pages, I have endeavoured to spare my country the loss of many a valuable, though humble, member, whom misrepresentation might tempt to emigrate; and to prevent the ruin of many a family, by an unadorned relation of my own disappointments in America. To whom could I inscribe a work of this tendency with so much propriety as to your Royal Highness, who forsook, in the spring of life, the pleasures of a court to maintain the rights of your august king and father, and submitted to the dangers and hardships of foreign campaigns to afford protection to your fellow-subjects?

I have the honour to subscribe myself

YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS'S most obedient and devoted humble servant, RICHARD PARKINSON.

ADVERTISEMENT.

It will afford me infinite pleasure if the publication of the following sheets, giving an account of my disappointments in America, should have the desired effect—that of preventing my countrymen from running headlong into misery, as myself and many others have done. The incontrovertible facts here related will perhaps stagger many: those interested they will probably offend; but to such persons I shall only reply, by repeating the old adage —“Truth may be blamed, but it cannot be shamed.”

It may be proper to mention that my first design was to print the Tour in one volume; the materials however increasing as the work advanced, I thought it preferable, for the sake of convenience, to divide it.

ERRATA.

Introduction, p. 25, last line, *for* 3,400, *read* 34,000 acres.

Page 34, line 19, for Lord Starting, *read* Lord Starling.

222, 3 to crack and smell, *add* what is termed slip-coat.

299 5 N. B. This cyder was made of sound apples, of different kinds.

264 19 *for* Baltimore Bank, *read* Office of Discount and Deposit.

270 4 *for* thoudred, *read* thousand.

281 2 *after* United States, *add* in a year.

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INTRODUCTION.

It may be proper to explain what was the cause of my going to America.

During the interval my Experienced Farmer was printing, I had much time to spend in London; and having the honour of being acquainted with Sir John Sinclair, who was then President of the Board of Agriculture, I frequently had occasion to consult that gentleman. General Washington had at that time sent over to Sir John proposals for letting his Mount

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Vernon estate to English or Scotch farmers. This being made known to me, I thought myself almost possessed of a real treasure, in having the honour to be introduced by Sir John Sinclair to so great a man as General B 2 Washington himself a great enthusiast for farming, and to the rich soils of America. With all these encouragements, therefore, having got the books printed, and upwards of five hundred subscribers to the work of the most respectable gentlemen in England, as a recommendation to the gentlemen in America, I speculated to make a rapid fortune. As General Washington had sent over a plan of Mount Vernon, divided into distinct farms, I pitched on one of twelve hundred acres of land; the rent twenty-two shillings per acre, or so much in produce delivered to him at a market-price;—to have a power of viewing the farm before accepting it. This, with the view of printing my Experienced Farmer in America, and of taking over race-horses, cattle, and hogs, in the ship, altogether seemed a most favourable prospect.

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With these expectations I went to Liverpool; and employed brokers to charter a ship, which cost me eight hundred and fifty pounds. I then bought the famous race-horses Phenomenon and Cardinal Puff, two blood stallions; ten blood mares, and four more blood stallions; a bull and a cow of the Roolright kind, a bull and a cow of the North Devon, a bull and a cow of the no-horned Yorkshire kind, a cow (with two calves, and in calf again) of the Holderness kind; and five boar and seven sow pigs, of four different kinds. These things being all put on board, I followed them, with my family—which consisted of seven, besides two servants to take care of the horses, cattle, &c.

The first disagreeable thing which occurred was, the captain found his ship improperly loaded; she wanted ballast: we B 2 4 were, therefore, stopped fourteen days to get ballast,—a delay which injured our horses very much, besides wasting our water and other provisions. One man now became sick, and we sent him back. No sooner had we got to sea, than one of the king's boats boarded us, and pressed our other servant: then I had sixteen horses, nine cattle, and thirteen pigs, to feed and pump water for, to clean the dirt from, &c.; with the assistance of one son, only twelve years of age: my other son and the

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rest of the family were all sick. We were twelve weeks in our passage, and in that time lost eleven horses, in which number was Phenomenon; the cattle and eleven hogs arrived safe.

The speculation of the books answered very well; as also did the horses, cattle, and hogs, beyond my expectation: had it not been for the great loss in my horses in going over, the whole of my venture would have proved very profitable. But the wonderful disappointment I met with in the barrenness of the land, was beyond any description. Would General Washington have given me the twelve hundred acres, I would not have accepted it, to have been confined to live in that country; and to convince the General of the cause of my determination, I was compelled to treat him with a great deal of frankness. The General, who had corresponded with Mr. Arthur Young and others on the subject of English farming and soils, and had been not a little flattered by different gentlemen from England, seemed at first to be not well pleased with my conversation; but I gave him some strong proofs of his mistakes, by making a comparison between the 6 lands in America and those of England, in two respects.

First, in the article of sheep. He supposed himself to have fine sheep, and a great quantity of them. At the time of my viewing his five farms, which consisted of about three thousand acres cultivated, he had one hundred sheep, and those in very poor condition. This was in the month of November. To show him his mistake in the value and quality of his land, I compared this with the farm my father occupied, which was less than six hundred acres. He clipped eleven hundred sheep, though some of his land was poor and at two shillings and sixpence per acre—the highest was at twenty shillings; the average weight of the wool was ten pounds per fleece, and the carcasses weighed from eighty to one hundred and twenty pounds each: while 7 in the General's hundred sheep on three thousand acres, the wool would not weigh on an average more than three pounds and a half the fleece, and the carcasses forty-eight pounds each.—Secondly, The proportion of the produce in grain

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was similar. (The General's crops were from two to three bushels of wheat per acre; and my father's farm, although poor clay soil, gave from twenty to thirty bushels.)

During this conversation, Colonel Lear, aide-de-camp to the General, was present. When the General left the room, the Colonel told me he had himself been in England, and had seen Mr. Arthur Young (who had been frequently named by the General in our conversation); and that Mr. Young, having learnt that he was in the mercantile line, and was possessed of much land, had said he thought he was a great fool to be a merchant and yet have so much land: the Colonel replied, that if Mr. Young had the same land to cultivate, it would make a great fool of *him*. The Colonel did me the honour to say I was the only man he ever knew to treat General Washington with frankness.

The General's cattle at that time were all in poor condition: except his mules (bred from American mares), which were very fine, and the Spanish ass sent to him as a present by the king of Spain. I felt myself much vexed at an expression used at dinner by Mrs. Washington. When the General and the company at table were talking about the fine horses and cattle I had brought from England, Mrs. Washington said, "I am afraid, Mr. Parkinson, you have brought your fine horses and cattle to a bad market; I am of opinion that our horses and cattle are good enough for our land." I thought that if every old woman in the country knew this, my speculation would answer very ill: as I perfectly agreed with Mrs. Washington in sentiment; and wondered much, from the poverty of the land, to see the cattle so good as they were.

It may be said, "But the author has not been in Kentucky, or among the back woods."—No: I have not. I soon found those countries to be much worse than the parts nearer the cities; for as money was my object, and I found it very scarce even in the cities, I concluded it would be much scarcer there. Of this I wanted no stronger proof than that the inhabitants being a sensible, sharp, enterprising people, as any in the world, if any thing valuable was to be had in that country they would be glad to secure it for themselves. If a man wants wit, he may go to America; but if he wants money and comfort, he should stay at home.

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I could give many strong reasons for my not going even to see those back woods, but I will trouble the reader with only one instance.—After I had landed my horses at Alexandria, I wanted some place for them cheaper than a tavern or inn. A gentleman of the name of Ricketts, who with his brother had large flour-mills about a mile out of the city, offered me a stable and hay for my horses, and board and lodging for my son to take care of them. This I readily accepted, hay being a very scarce article at Alexandria; though these gentlemen, from the advantage of the water in their mill-race, had a piece of timothy very good; indeed, by watering and dunging, I never saw a meadow better managed in any 11 country. They offered me some lands belonging to them in Kentucky. I soon learnt, however, that they had purchased this land with the intention of cultivating it themselves, and had actually cleared some part of it; but after some time, they found it an uncomfortable life, and a slow method of enriching themselves. They therefore returned; and one of them being a millwright by trade, they bought a mill-race and built a mill, which they occupied: and the late war with France proving a favourable event for the trade of a miller in America (from the great scarcity of grain and flour in England), they were said to have made a rapid fortune.

But how had they made this fortune? By such care and industry as are not frequently practised in England. My son having boarded in their house for some 12 months, I can describe their way of living; as he lived at their table.—The breakfast consisted of coffee and salt herrings, and sometimes salt beef. The bread was only cakes made of hog's-lard and wheat-flour, and not buttered. The dinner was salt beef and bread, and sometimes potatoes (which are very bad all over the country); at other times, as a treat, the cattle-cabbage, which was preserved in the cellar to keep it from the frost: and water to drink. This was in the winter. At the time of killing their pigs they had fresh pork; and when they killed their beef (which was the cows they had milked) they had fresh beef. During the time my son was in their family, which was four months, there was not any butter used in the house, except in the last fortnight; nor did they buy any article of food, but lived entirely on what 13 their ground produced, although they had a waggon and servants going several

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times every day to the city of Alexandria. When the cows in summer gave milk enough to make butter, it was used in the family.

Now I ask, where in England men can be found in so large a way of business, making use of so much care and living in so humble a manner? From this one instance I was satisfied of the great comforts so frequently spoken of as being enjoyed in the back woods: for I did not put myself in competition with those two gentlemen;—to my knowledge, I never saw two cleverer men. Their father emigrated from Wales, and bought lands at Elk town near the Susquehanna, and grewed tobacco, which at that time was profitable: but the land will not bring tobacco for any long 14 time; only fresh land, or land highly dunged.

I employed a servant that had lived in those boasted back woods. He had been hired by a man that purchased land in Kentucky; and he and his master went to clear lands for the purpose of growing Indian corn, While performing this business they built themselves a log-house, which was open on the sides by the logs not lying close to each other: such openings are frequently filled up with dirt; but their time being of so much consequence to raise food, this was omitted. There was no entrance to it but at the top, like a hatchway in a ship. When they had raised the corn, and they wanted it ground, they had forty miles to go to a mill; which, with returning, was two-days journey. When the master was absent on these occasions, 15 the servant was left alone; and was much frightened by the screeching of the owls, supposing the Indians were coming to kill him in the night;—it being a practice with those savages to come into the house and lie by the fire, nor dare the inhabitants forbid them. After some time, this man came with his master to a place near Philadelphia, where his master had lived; for his family had cleared a piece of ground, and built a house there: but Patrick declined going any more into that country, to drink water and live on Indian corn.

I take up my pen, therefore, to write the following pages, free from all unfounded prejudices against America; but at the 16 request of a great number of persons there, who from different parts of the United Kingdom (and particularly England) have emigrated

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with the intention of purchasing lands in that country. The great advantages held out by the different authors, and men travelling from America with commission to sell land, have deluded persons of all denominations, with an idea of becoming land-owners and independent. They have, however, been most lamentably disappointed; particularly the farmers, and all those that have purchased land: for, notwithstanding the low price at which the American lands are sold, the poverty of the soil is such, as to make it not to pay for labour; therefore, the greater part have brought themselves and their families to total ruin.

The only consolation they enjoy is, that all around them are in the same situation; 17 and that, were they to return to their native country in that reduced state, they would not only be the scoff of their former acquaintance, but feel themselves uncomfortable by not having it in their power to enjoy such ease as they had been brought up to. But the working-men that have emigrated have it not in their power to get back; for, if they have not money to pay their passage, the captains of ships will not bring them from America on the terms on which they are taken, because there is no one ready to pay their passage on this side.—To explain this. On their first arrival in America, there are men ready to buy them as slaves for a certain time; and as these people will want clothing, not having the means to purchase it during their stated time of servitude, they are compelled to get the money of their masters, and that keeps C 18 them in the same state the greatest part of their life.

Now, with regard to the liberty and equality expected by some who emigrate from these kingdoms to America, they will find that not very pleasant. There is no Englishman who does not think himself above the negro; but when he comes there he will have to eat, drink, and sleep, with the negro slaves.—Hence it is that stories are told of the servants in America wanting to eat and drink in the dining-room with their masters. As the master cannot keep three tables, the white servant thinks himself (from the boast of the American liberty and equality) more on an *equality* with the master than with the negro; and as the negro is under no greater subordination than to acknowledge the man he works for as master, the white man (if he be not a 19 slave), to cause a distinction, will not call him

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Master: therefore, among the white men in America, they are all *Mr.* and *Sir*; so that in conversation you cannot discover which is the master or which is the man. It is the same with the white women; they are all *Madam* and *Miss*. If you call at the door of any man, and ask the servant if his master is at home, he will say, “Master! I have no master: do you want Mr. Such-a-one?” that is, the man he serves:—and if you want a man that is a white servant, the master calls him in the same manner.

Now this sits so uneasy on an English servant that, by being called *Mr.* and *Sir*, he soon becomes the greatest puppy imaginable, and much unpleasanter even than the negro. Then, as all men imitate their betters in pride and consequence, when the negroes meet together they are all *Mr.* and *C 2 20 Madam* among themselves.—It is the same with respect to the manner of wearing their hair; almost every one, child or man, has his hair tied. The negro the same; but, as the hair of the negro is short, it is customary to hang lead to it during the week that it may have length enough to tie on the Sunday.

In the different publications which I have seen, some of these unpleasantries are forgotten. But the fact is, that the men that publish those favourable accounts of America are frequently emigrants from this country, who are hired by Americans to contract with captains of ships to bring over such as are unable to pay their passage, that they may buy them when they arrive in America;—which is an absolute slave-trade, and much worse than the punishment for convicts.—The same sort of men *21* in that country, when they are in the highest distress there, buy or take up lands in the back countries, to pay the money at some future time; and then either come here themselves, or hire what may fairly be termed their counsellors to plead for them;—these agents to be paid out of the money raised out of the emigrants' pockets, as neither the man who is the pretended land-owner nor his agent have any money to support themselves. This is a mere speculation all the way through; and the men that say so much in favour of the land, know no more of land than a horse—nor perhaps so much, as they do not eat grass: which is the only excuse

they have to make for their conduct. A great many of them, I can prove, have never been within five or eight hundred miles of the place where the land lies.

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It is precisely the same with emigrants in similar circumstances from other countries; who are in the same manner purchased and treated as slaves. I will mention a particular instance.—A Dutchman who had lost all his property, which was considerable, and was reduced to great distress, by the war with France, met with a captain of an American ship, who offered him and his two sons a free passage, into America; but at the end of the voyage the captain offered them all for sale to pay for the passage. They were bought by Messrs. Ricketts, whom I have before mentioned; who paid the captain ready money for them, and the three emigrants had to repay those gentlemen by labour for a certain number of years. The father, finding himself so wonderfully disappointed in the great expectations held out to him by the captain, 23 proved very obstinate and would not work; and was therefore (as was usual) whipped with the cow-hide, in the same way as the negroes. The old man, nevertheless, in spite of this great punishment, still persisting in his obstinacy, the gentlemen chose to give him his liberty, and kept the two boys to work out the sum. Now I only blame the captains of ships for holding out such favourable prospects to the emigrants as a persuasion, which they know at the same time to be false;—for it cannot be supposed those captains can give them passage and provisions without repayment in some way or other: but the fact is that they do this by way of profit, and on the other side the water they get the same sum as from passengers to this. As to the gentlemen who bought these three men, I can 24 say, from my own knowledge, that better characters cannot exist: the blame in this case lay on the old Dutchman; who, when he had brought himself into such a situation, ought with temper to have done his best, and the gentlemen would have treated him with kindness.

Perhaps, from my observations, it may be here said, that I have been disappointed and am a prejudiced man. No: I am not. I never had half the condescension shown me in the same time in England by gentlemen of superior rank to myself, as I have had in America;

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and solemnly affirm it was painful to me to leave so respectable acquaintance: but farming being my sole object in life, I found the climate and soil there to be of such a nature as to put it out of the power of man to enrich the land without 25 such an enormous expence as (if he had no other means than what the produce of the land would afford) must ruin any one.

To show this is true, I will give an example in the speculations of the well-known Messrs. Morris, Nicholson, and Greenleaf.—Mr. Morris had so much credit as a banker during the American war, that his notes were current when those of the United States would not be taken either in their country or abroad. When the war was over, Mr. Morris, not knowing what to do with his money, speculated largely in lands, and took these other two gentlemen as partners. They are broke, have all been in gaol, and Mr. Morris must die there.

I had one thousand acres of land offered to be given me by General Stone, of Baltimore in Aleganey county, to be chosen out of three thousand four hundred acres, if I 26 would stop in the country; and he promised to go and settle with me and build himself a house there. Now it may be necessary to explain why I would not accept so kind an offer.—The cause was this. The produce is so small and the expence so great, that I never saw any land worth having in America. I know a gentleman of Baltimore, from Ireland, a man of business and good sense, who acknowledges that by cultivating part of two estates (the one, two thousand five hundred acres, within one mile and a half of that city; the other at a distance of fourteen miles) he is at the loss of one thousand pounds *per annum*. What then could be expected, if it was three or eight hundred miles from market?

Large quantities of land in America are indeed only greater inconveniences; you having taxes to pay for them, while they are 27 not worth cultivation. I would rather have one hundred acres than one hundred thousand; for the price of labour being very high, and the produce so small, if I was compelled to live in that country I would not wish to have more than myself and my family could cultivate, and woodland for fire,—for all the white

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men I employed there ate much and worked little. And it is allowed by every experienced man in America, that no man can work a farm at all to get a living upon it but by slaves; and the cause is, the black man or slave is both clothed and fed at a less expence than a white man; therefore it shows plainly where the livelihood is got out of that poor soil—it is pinched and screwed out of the negro.

When I was in America, I was requested by all the Englishmen whom I knew, to make this business public at my return. I never met an Englishman in that country, of whatever rank in life he might be, that liked it, but wished himself at home again: but his general acknowledgment was, he had spent his money, and was either unable to get back, or ashamed to come, having so much reduced his circumstances as to be dismayed to see his old friends. And I think it a duty incumbent on me to declare this to my countrymen, that if they will go, they may go with their eyes open. I have, when in America, discovered my intentions to one American gentleman of rank and fortune, who perhaps is one of the best men existing, and a very great friend to his own country, and one of my most intimate friends. He approved of my design: saying, the delusions carried on were improper; and that the industrious emigrant, finding himself so deceived and disappointed when he arrived in America, is so much disgusted as to brand the whole of the people with being a set of rascals altogether.—Indeed, such a one will find a strange difference between the former part of his life as an English farmer, and the employments required on the lands in America;—occupations as different as those of a taylor and a blacksmith. He will have to chop up trees, and cultivate the land by the hoe and pick-ax instead of the plough and harrows, The implements of husbandry being so expensive, and the produce of the land being so small, he will be compelled to make them himself, whence we may be sure that they will prove of an inferior kind, even when the land is got into a state proper to use them;—but it is some time after the timber is destroyed before they can be used at all; and after that time there will be great waste of produce, and inconveniences in cultivating the land, by the roots of trees, large stones, &c.

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It may be necessary to forewarn the reader, that there are some very trivial things introduced in this work; particularly where I mention myself as doing manual labour, and even my wife and family. I hope this will be excused; as none but those who have been in America would suppose but there are people to be had for either love or money to do the dirty work; but I have been obliged to clean my own boots and shoes when I have had four servants in the house; and myself, wife, and family, have risen in a morning to milk the cows when our servants were in bed. I should term such very bad management in England; but the idea of liberty and 31 equality there destroys all the rights of the master, and every man does as he likes. Even taking fruit out of your garden, or orchard, is not looked upon as a theft; nor riding your horse a few miles without leave, if he be only brought back to you again, and particularly if the man that rode him would say he knew you did not want him:—it is very unpopular to look upon these things as a crime; and your only way is to say he is welcome, or have his anger and the whole country about you.

If a white servant is sent on an errand to a neighbour's house, he will go in with his hat on, and perhaps sit down with as much freedom as though he was in his own or master's house. It is very common if you step out of your house into the garden, to find a man of any description (black or white) when you come in, to have lighted 32 his pipe and sitting down in a chair, smoking, without apology, with as much composure as though he was a lodger in the house: and any man that obstructs these liberties is looked upon as a bad subject, and an enemy to the rights of man, and infringer of the rights which they and their fathers have fought for.

It is not uncommon to take hay or corn out of your fields, for the waggoner's horses or himself to eat; viz. roasting ears of Indian corn. I was in company the other evening where a lady was speaking highly of the apples grown in America: she mentioned the captain of a ship to have given them to her. I took the liberty of asking her what they cost? She said, "Oh! the captain took them out of an orchard: they cost nothing." By this method he would

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take the best; and you, as the proprietor, 33 have the worst fruit to use yourself: and the whole of the best is taken from you by similar interlopers.

If I had gone into America and travelled through the country by way of a tour only, I should not have had an opportunity of publishing in so descriptive a manner; for in my own travels (I can say without vanity) I met with every thing pleasant the country could afford: but, in the occupation of a farm, my life was chequered, by meeting with such circumstances as the above; and I hope it may be of great utility to my young family, and that, from a recollection of the insults their mother and themselves received, they will ever know the value of this country.

I will own, that, at the time when I left England, I had a very high opinion of the fertility of its soil, and was always a supporter D 34 of the government, as my former publication will show; and thought it my duty to support it, so far as my *labours* could give assistance: but disliked the idea of wars; and, for want of experience, thought they might be avoided by arbitration. But since I have been in America, I have a very different opinion of the duty of a subject to his king and country; and feel that he ought to stand forward on all emergencies so far as the Almighty has given him power: and I hope every branch of my family will do so. The necessity appears evident: for although America, during my abode there, was a neutral nation, it was frequent in company to hear the Americans say the West-Indies would be theirs; they should be soon in a state to command them by war. This is to me a convincing proof that a government should be able and 35 ready to check insult, and the subjects of a country ought to be ready to give every assistance; and no term of years, so long as God gives me health and strength to do it, shall prevent me, if I am called upon.

I flatter myself that my experience in America will enable me to give a clear account of the inhabited parts; of which it is my intention to describe with candour the soil and climate, and the manners and customs of the people. My whole wish is to relate what I have seen in America, in such a plain, familiar style, as shall be perfectly intelligible to the reader. D 2

TOUR IN AMERICA.

SECTION I. *An Account of my Tour from my first Landing in America, to the Time of my settling at Orange-Hill, near Baltimore; being a Period of five Months.*

I sailed from Liverpool, September 3d, 1798; and, after a very long and bad passage, arrived at Norfolk in Virginia, on the 11th of November. During my stay of four days in this town, I met with many English gentlemen; and was very pleasantly treated,—particularly by Mr. Cox, a gentleman from Derbyshire. When I was first introduced here, the conversation, as the company were seated at dinner, was on politics; and the Englishmen were all for England, and great supporters of the crown and its dignity. Mr. Cox being in the chair, the King of England was the first health, and Mr. Pitt next.

After dinner was over, I began to inquire for some hay for my horses and cattle; but was told there was no such thing. I was astonished to find in so large a town, where a great number of horses, mules, and cows, were kept, no hay, and in the month of November too. The people seemed as much surprised at my asking for hay, as I was at there being none: and well they might; for when I walked out into the ground, I saw no such thing as grass growing, nor any sort of green herb. This to me, as an Englishman, was a very unusual spectacle; to see land without something upon it: and not a little mortifying, to one who had been tempted to believe it to be (as they term it) the best land in the world. 39 I knew that if all their land was like that, a man could not live in plenty and splendor from the produce of such crops as it would bring.

It was natural for me now to inquire, what they kept their cows and horses on during the winter. They told me—their horses on blades, and their cows on slops. I neither knew what *blades* nor *slops* were. The people seemed to laugh at me for my inquiry; as by this time they had learnt that I was the English farmer who had come over with a quantity of horses, bulls, cows, hogs, and dogs, and taken a farm of General Washington at Mount-Vernon. I have reason to say, indeed, I was not a fit man to farm in their country; which I heard said

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repeatedly, both at that time and afterwards during my stay in America. This I knew to be true: nor is any Englishman:—it does not suit very well to take any thing from rich land to poor.

Now to return to the slops and the blades.—The latter proved to be blades and tops of 40 Indian corn: and the slops were the same that are put into the swill-tub in England, and given to hogs; composed of broth, dishwashings, cabbage-leaves, potatoe-parings, &c. The cows even eat the dung of a horse, as naturally as an English cow does hay; and are all in the streets, robbing every man's cart of these *blades* as they come to be sold, or picking up any thing else they can find. It appeared to me that a man's having land in or about that town, was of no advantage to him in keeping cows, as it growed no grass; the street was the cheapest place to keep them in, and the best.

I then began to ask for these blades; which, they told me, were very fine for horses: but my wants, I found, could not be supplied that day; but that in the morning there would be carts with these blades to sell. Being, however, very desirous to give my horses and cattle some refreshment as well as myself, as I had had a very good dinner I wished them the same; 41 and I imagined that some tavern or stable keeper would certainly be able to supply my wants, and would, from mere benevolence, let me have some blades for my stock, as I had been at sea so long, though his trade might not be to sell them. I began, accordingly, to inquire for some person of this description; but I found myself disappointed in this matter, as no one had more of this article than for his own use that day and night. At last I chanced upon a stable-keeper who had about fifty pounds weight; and who for an advanced price, or if I would let him have some bran to feed his horses for the night (which I readily did), would let me have forty bunches, which were computed at forty pounds weight—for I found that it was the practice to sell the blades by the pound, in the same manner as tea in England.

When I got these blades, my horses were frightened at them; for they rattle much, having the same appearance as our dry flag-leaves in England. From their delightful 42 smell,

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however, the horses began to eat them; and very good they are: but I had only forty pounds for thirteen horses, bulls, and cows; and this was all I could procure in the town of Norfolk, where there appeared to be a great deal of shipping and trade. I learnt, indeed, that these blades were frequently a very scanty supply in the markets; and that perhaps I might not meet with what I wanted, if I did not look sharp about me. I, therefore, rose early in the morning, and walked out along the road which I was told was the most likely for meeting the carts coming with them to market. I found several people on the roads with the same intent. With one of these persons I formed an agreement to buy a cart-load betwixt us: and I stood marketman, and bought that quantity, which consisted of four hundred bundles, or four hundred pounds, (to be either weighed or counted, which I pleased.) My promised partner in this business, however, deceived me, and did not accept his share; therefore, 43 the whole cart-load became mine. Being told by the captain that we should sail the next morning, and he expected to be at Mount-Vernon in eleven hours, the quantity was more than I wished for. But it proved lucky: as we did not sail until the Tuesday, which was an interval of four days, instead of two; and hoping to meet with hay at Mount-Vernon on better terms, I did not choose to buy more than was necessary to carry me to my destination. The price was, a penny per pound.

The cause of our putting into Norfolk was, that when we were about thirty miles southwest of Norfolk, lying at anchor, a gale of wind came on and did the vessel some damage, which we were obliged to put-in to repair. On Tuesday morning we set sail: and in *nine days* reached Mount-Vernon, instead of *eleven hours* ; having head-winds or calms all the passage.

About thirty miles down the river Potowmac, a gentleman, of the name of Grimes, came up to us in his own boat. 44 He had some little time before shot a man who was going across his plantation; and had been tried for so doing, but not punished. He came aboard, and behaved very politely to me: and it being near dinner-time, he would have me go ashore and dine with him; which I did. He gave me some grape-juice to drink, which he called Port wine, and entertained me with saying he made it himself: it was not to my taste equal

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to our Port in England, nor even strong beer; but a hearty welcome makes every thing pleasant, and this he most cheerfully gave me. He showed me his garden; the produce of which, he told me, he sold at Alexandria, a distance of thirty miles. His garden was in disorder: and so was every thing else I saw about the place; except a favourite stallion, which was in very good condition—a pretty figure of a horse, and of proper size for the road, about fifteen hands high. He likewise showed me some other horses, brood-mares and foals, young colts, &c. of rather an useful 45 kind. His cattle were small, but all much better than the land.

He praised the soil very highly. I asked him if he was acquainted with the land at Mount-Vernon. He said he was; and represented it to be rich land, but not so rich as his. Yet his I thought very poor indeed; for it was (as it is termed in America) *gullied*; which I call broken land. This effect is produced by the winter's frost and summer's rain, which cut the land into cavities of from ten feet wide and ten feet deep (and upwards) in many places; and, added to this, here and there a hole, makes it look altogether like marl-pits, or stone-quarries, that have been carried away by those hasty showers in the summer, which no man who has not seen them in this climate could form any idea of, or believe possible.—They are called *gusts*. A small cloud appears first, and very quickly gathers and blackens the sky. The wind begins to blow, with thunder and lightning so tremendous that a stranger 46 might suppose it would destroy every thing upon the earth. The thunder-bolts will split the trees in the woods in such a manner as was very surprising to me when I first saw it; and made me believe the country was ordained by the Almighty a proper place for convicts, as it would make them repent of their former sins.

After seeing the farm, I returned to the ship, and Mr. Grimes with me. He presented me with some cabbages, veal, fresh butter, and a bushel of oysters; and having two sons on board who were very fond of oysters, this last article gave them great pleasure. But they were never very desirous of American oysters afterwards; for these are not salt, but are freshwater oysters, large and watery, and thus very disagreeable to me; yet a great many

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are consumed by the Americans. They are easy to get; as there are banks of them, and sometimes from four to six hang together.

I had not yet seen any grass; except a 47 few bunches of orchard-grass, which Mr. Grimes valued much, saying he meant to preserve the seed, as he found the roots of that grass to stand the winter, All this added little to my prospects as a farmer in America.—After Mr. Grimes was gone, the pilot on board the ship said, “Sir, you have come very well off with your friend Grimes; you have got back alive: he sometimes shoots his friends, when they do not please him.” I found this to be true: for some time afterward I became acquainted with the two gentlemen that took him for the crime; and, from the story they tell, it appears he acted as if crazy after he had shot the man; therefore, on his trial, he was proved insane, but I did not learn from the gentlemen that he was ever so before he shot the man, or has been so since.

In two days after we left this place, we came in sight of Mount-Vernon; but in all the way up the river, I did not see any green fields. The country had to me a 48 most barren appearance. There were none but snake-fences; which are rails laid with the ends of one upon another, from eight to sixteen in number in one length. The surface of the earth looked like a yellow-washed wall; for it had been a very dry summer; and there was not any thing that I could see green, except the pine trees in the woods, and the cedars, which made a truly picturesque view as we sailed up the Potowmac. It is indeed a most beautiful river.

When we arrived at Mount-Vernon, I found that General Washington was at Philadelphia; but his steward had orders from the General to receive me and my family, with all the horses, cattle, &c. which I had on board. A boat was, therefore, got ready for landing them; but that could not be done, as the ship must be cleared out at some port before any thing was moved: so, after looking about a few minutes at Mount-Vernon, I returned to the ship, and we began to make way for Alexandria.

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We were two days in going this small distance, which is only nine miles. While we lay at anchor about two miles from that city, my stock of blades being consumed, and as I perceived a house, situated in what is in America termed very fine land, I went on shore to purchase some food for my horses and cattle. The gentleman of this house, named Rozer, had some hay. I thought this would do finely: but when I saw it, I found it was grown on land where water continually stood, and had a great deal of different sorts of weeds in it, and among the rest wild mint; and besides stunk so much of one nastiness or other, that the horses would not touch it.

The next day we landed at Alexandria. General Washington's steward had recommended me to the inn kept by Mr. Gadsby, an Englishman. Here the stables were floored with boards; for in many parts of America, as there is not straw enough produced to litter the horses with, this is the practice. E 50 We put our horses, cattle, pigs, &c. into these *rooms*. The charges were very high; and in about twenty-one days our bill amounted to seventy pounds currency: we had moved our horses and cattle some days before, or it would have been much more. I had repeatedly invitations to buy lands, or take farms; but my reply was, that I wanted only forty acres, or between that quantity and a hundred. At this the people were amazed; for having heard that I had agreed with General Washington for twelve hundred acres, and now did not like it, they thought I was mad. Great numbers of them came to see my live stock. They wanted to give me land for them: but I was not so fond of the land as they expected; I did not think any I had seen worth having; for by this time I had learnt the price of labour, and likewise what was the produce.

When I had been about seven days at Alexandria, I hired a horse and went to Mount-Vernon, to view my intended farm; 51 of which General Washington had given me a plan, and a report along with it—the rent being fixed at eighteen hundred bushels of wheat for twelve hundred acres, or money according to the price of that grain. I must confess that if he would have given me the inheritance of the land for that sum, I durst not have accepted it, especially with the incumbrances upon it; viz. one hundred and seventy slaves young

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and old, and out of that number only twenty-seven in a condition to work, as the steward represented to me. I viewed the whole of the cultivated estate—about three thousand acres; and afterward dined with Mrs. Washington and the family. Here I met a Doctor Thornton, who is a very pleasant agreeable man, and his lady; with a Mr. Peters and his lady, who was a granddaughter of Mrs. Washington. Doctor Thornton living at the city of Washington, he gave me an invitation to visit him there: he was one of the commissioners of the city. E 2

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I slept at Mount-Vernon, and experienced a very kind and comfortable reception; but did not like the land at all. I saw no green grass there, except in the garden: and this was some English grass, appearing to me to be a sort of couch-grass; it was in drills. There were also six saintfoin plants, which I found the General valued highly. I viewed the oats which were not thrashed, and counted the grains upon each head; but found no stern with more than four grains, and these of a very light and bad quality, such as I had never seen before: the longest straw was of about twelve inches. The wheat was all thrashed, therefore I could not ascertain the produce of that: I saw some of the straw, however, and thought it had been cut and prepared for the cattle in the winter; but I believe I was mistaken, it being short by nature, and with thrashing out it looked like chaff, or as if chopped with a bad knife. The General had two thrashing machines; the power given by horses. The clover was 53 very little in bulk, and like chaff; not more than nine inches long, and the leaf very much shed from the stalk. By the stubbles on the land I could not tell which had been wheat, or which had been oats or barley; nor could I see any clover-roots where the clover had grown. The weather was hot and dry at that time; it was in December. The whole of the different fields were covered with either the stalks of weeds, corn-stalks, or what is called sedge—something like spear-grass upon the poor limestone in England; and the steward told me nothing would eat it, which is true. Indeed, he found fault with every thing, just like a foreigner; and even told me many unpleasant tales of the General, so that I began to think he was suspicious of my having come to take his

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place. But (God knows!) I would not choose to accept of it: for he had to superintend four hundred slaves, and there would be more now. This part of his business especially would 54 have been painful to me: it is, in fact, a sort of trade of itself.

I had not in all this time seen what we in England call a corn-stack, nor a dunghill. There were, indeed, behind one of the General's barns, two or three cocks of oats and barley; but such as an English broad-wheeled waggon would have carried a hundred miles at one time with ease. Neither had I seen a green plant of any kind:—there was some clover of the first year's sowing: but in riding over the fields I should not have known it to be clover, although the steward told me it was; only when I came under a tree I could, by favour of the shade, perceive here and there a green leaf of clover, but I do not remember seeing a green root. I was shown no grass-hay of any kind; nor do I believe there was any. The cattle were very poor and ordinary, and the sheep the same; nor did I see any thing that I liked except the mules, which were very fine ones, and 55 in good condition. I saw here a greater number of negroes than I ever saw at one time either before or since.

The house is a very decent mansion: not large, and something like a gentleman's house in England, with gardens and plantations; and is very prettily situated on the banks of the river Potowmac, with extensive prospects. It took its name from Admiral Vernon: the General's brother, who formerly owned the place, having served under that Admiral. The roads are very bad from Alexandria to Mount-Vernon, even very near to the General's house: I mention this circumstance, merely because it seemed strange to me that so capital a man had it not in his power to provide an agreeable conveyance to that city, a distance of only nine miles.

The General still continuing at Philadelphia, I could not have the pleasure of seeing him; therefore I returned to Alexandria, where my family resided. Here I found a letter from Hugh Thompson, 56 Esq. merchant in Baltimore, requesting me to go to that city, and making me an offer of two situations: the one near Anapolis; the other upon Elk-Ridge (where the fine kite-foot tobacco was formerly grown), in the road between Alexandria

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and Baltimore, and nine miles from the latter. I likewise had an invitation to put my cattle and hogs over the river to Mr. Rozer, the gentleman whom I formerly mentioned, and who behaved to me with the greatest kindness. I had now met with a Colonel Lyles, who lived at Broad-Creek in Maryland, about four miles from Alexandria. With him I formed an acquaintance; and he gave me some friendly advice, respecting what sort of people these were whom I was invited to connect myself with: and as I had made up my mind not to have the General's farm, he advised me not to send my stock there to be kept. To this I most readily agreed: for as the General's cattle and hogs were poor, I feared that mine would share the same fate; nor did I see any thing proper 57 to keep them on. I thought my cattle would eat in one month all the clover that I had yet seen, to keep them as we keep our cattle in England. I therefore sent them to Mr. Rozer, and one of my sons to take care of them, as he proposed to give me hay and blades for nothing,—the corn and bran I was to pay for. Another gentleman, named Ricketts, who had a mill about a mile from the town of Alexandria, offered me in the same manner hay for my horses; this I readily accepted, and sent my other son with them. This last gentleman had a small field of timothy; which was so situated as to be watered, and cut a great deal of hay; and the horses fattened very much on it, with only the cost of four pounds ten shillings currency for three months' corn:—a circumstance which gave me proof of the great efficacy of timothy-hay for horses, and this opinion I still retain.

Mr. Ricketts had a great quantity of land in Kentucky, and he gave me some account of that country; but such as was to me no 58 encouragement to go into the back woods to live. He said it was not worth cultivating, even as a gift.

Having got my horses, cattle, hogs, &c. fixed, and my wife and family in lodgings, I began to look out for some place to settle in; and clearly seeing that farming would not do on any of the soils I had seen, and Colonel Lyles being a friendly, creditable, and well-informed man, and a man of property, I advised with him on every occasion. I thought I would try to get a connection to brew; and the city of Washington being a small distance from Alexandria, I made my thoughts known to him. He offered to join me in a brewery at

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Washington, and we agreed to go together to look out for a situation. We had an invitation to dine with Doctor Thornton: and the Doctor having a public dinner on that day, I got introduced to many respectable characters; and among the rest to Mr. Law, a gentleman married to the granddaughter of Mrs. Washington. Mr. Law 59 is an Englishman, and brother to Lord Ellenborough. He gave Colonel Lyles and myself an invitation to go to sleep at his house; but we were prevented by General Washington coming to sleep there that night, and Colonel Lear, his secretary. I had, however, the gratification to be introduced to the General; and Colonel Lyles being a neighbour and a particular acquaintance of his, a most pleasing evening I spent. The General was quite sociable, and received me very kindly. After supper, at nine o'clock the General went to bed, as that was his hour; for the supper in most houses being tea, and some broiled fish, sausages, steaks, &c. it is generally introduced between six and seven o'clock, which was done, that evening. Doctor Thornton, Colonel Lyles, Mr. Law, and myself, sat some hours after; and the Colonel and I went to sleep at a tavern in the city, which was kept by an Englishman named Tunnercliffe. We were asked the next morning to breakfast at Mr. Law's, 60 with the General; which we did: and the General gave me a most kind invitation to go to see him in a few days. After breakfast, he set off in his carriage for Mount-Vernon.

Mr. Law having speculated largely in city lots (viz. of the intended new federal city, as it was called, of *Washington*) , he offered to let Colonel Lyles and me have any lot we should choose, at the price it cost him, and to leave the money on common interest for any time we should mention. We looked out a lot, and made a conditional bargain. I was to make an estimate and plan; which I did. But the expences of building I found very high; nor did I like the appearance of the place at all. I began to think that it was too young a city for a brewery, there not being above three hundred houses; nor could I find that there was another man of any considerable moneyed property in the city, besides Mr. Law. I thought too that, water being the usual drink of the country, there was 61 very little probability of that custom changing for some time; and especially while they were employed in building

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houses, paving streets, &c. I therefore made known these sentiments to Colonel Lyles; and we dropped that scheme. Indeed, I began to think of coming to England again.

After we had parted with the General, and viewed the lot, we returned to the tavern: where we found a gentleman from Washington county, General Sprigg, who was in search of me to buy some of the cattle, or all of them, and the hogs; which he said were the best he had ever seen come from England, though he had had some himself, and had seen a great many. He offered me a very good price for some of them. I had determined to sell every thing I had brought with me—(having soon, however, learnt that it was a dangerous place to sell any thing without having the money in hand);—for I had seen no land I thought good enough to keep such cattle as mine on, and they would take a great deal of artificial support, which I knew in all countries is very expensive, especially in so poor a country as that. The winter too had set in, which was very severe, and such as I had never experienced in England; though it was not so severe as had been expected, the thermometer being now at 13 degrees, whereas I was told it is sometimes down at 0. I then was in great fear of my cattle and hogs being all starved to death: for the weather having been very hot in some part of our voyage, so as to make the cattle hang out their tongues for several hours in the day, it had caused them to cast their hair at a very improper season; which was much against their standing such severe cold now, and especially as no houses were to be had for them.

I spent the day with General Sprigg at George Town, which joins to the city; and supped with him, in a tavern, on their famous canvas-back ducks, the flesh of which is in my opinion superior to the woodcock in England. These ducks are to be found only in two rivers in America, the Potowmac and the Susquehanna, which seems a very odd circumstance; and in these rivers there are thousands of them. I returned, next morning, to Alexandria; and in a day or two afterward went to see General Washington. I dined with him; and he showed me several presents that had been sent him, viz. swords, china, and among the rest the key of the Bastille. I spent a very pleasant day in the house, as the weather was so severe that there were no farming objects to see, the ground being

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covered with snow. The General wished me to stay all night; but having some other engagements, I declined his kind offer. He sent Colonel Lear out after I had parted with him, to ask me if I wanted any money; which I gladly accepted.

A few days afterward I set off to Baltimore, to see Mr. Thompson, with an intention to view his estate. I had previously⁶⁴ obtained the General's approbation to print a second edition of my *Experienced Farmer*, and his permission to dedicate it to him; but he desired I would not mention this in the dedication, as he had refused a similar permission to a great number of his own countrymen. I then opened my subscription, in which I found great encouragement as I travelled along, and uncommon success in Baltimore.

At this last place I stopped a few days; and then went to Annapolis, to see an estate of Mr. Thompson's, called Strawberry-hill. I had a letter of introduction from Mr. Gough of Baltimore, to General Ridgely; a gentleman of very great landed property, and member of the assembly. The assembly being at that time sitting at Annapolis, I got introduced to Mr. Carrol, a gentleman of the greatest property in America, and who lives at Annapolis. He kindly asked me to dine with him in two days from that time; and invited a great many of the assembly to meet me there. The governor of Maryland⁶⁵ was in the company; and I spent a most agreeable day.

I went the next day to view Strawberry-hill. I found it a beautiful situation, but every thing in very bad order. It had been a good house; there were large gardens and orchards, with a great number of different fruits, more than I had ever seen in America, but the fruit-trees very much broken and abused. Here was, however, the same complaint as every where else. The land was very poor, covered with sedge-grass and small pine-trees, which latter particularly denote a poor soil. It was a place for a man to spend money at, but I could see very little prospect to get any; otherwise, Mr. Thompson's offer was such as it seemed a folly to refuse—for he requested no rent; and would repair the buildings, lend me money, or any thing. But as I had then formed an opinion of cows, and selling milk, Annapolis appeared to me a poor place, for there was nothing to keep cows on; and, if there

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was, no person to F 66 buy milk, or at least no money to pay for it with—so I declined his very favourable proposals.

I had then an offer from General Ridgely, of a farm of great note, nine miles from Baltimore. I got an invitation, and a letter of introduction, to Colonel Mercer; by whom I was very kindly received, and I found him a most agreeable man. He was said to live on one of the best plantations in America, and indeed I do not know whether it be not as good as any I saw. It is called West River; and lies on the west side of the bay. His cattle were very poor. He had got two thrashing-machines, one of them from England, that were to thrash the ears only; which he said answered very well for thrashing wheat injured by the mildew, or what the Americans call the *rust*. I staid some time there; and the Colonel then introduced me to a Mr. Stewart, a tobacco-planter. At this gentleman's I spent an agreeable day, and slept all night; and then returned to 67 Alexandria, to see my family, horses, cattle, &c.

After a few days, I went into the country to see Colonel Lyles and some other gentlemen; and then set off to Baltimore. In my journey I slept at Major Snowdon's, a very hospitable man indeed. He showed me a bull of his, a stud horse, and some different things; but nothing of any superior value, except a pair of coach-horses. I arrived at Baltimore; and soon afterward set off to see General Ridgely's farm.

On my way I was introduced, by a Mr. Thomas Ringold, to a Mr. Gittings, who lives fourteen miles from Baltimore, a gentleman of property and of good information. He has the finest timothy-meadows that are in America; and knows how to treat them better than any other man I ever met with, either there or in England. He told me an anecdote of his first gaining the proper idea.—He used to cut his timothy-meadow as those meadows are in general cut, viz. when they were in flower; F 2 68 but one year (by misfortune, as he then thought) he was prevented from getting the whole cut in the usual time, and about half of his crop stood till it was quite brown in the head and some of the leaf, and (he supposed) was nearly spoiled for good hay. The part that had been mown (as usual)

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when in bloom and green, was by his order particularly kept for his waggon-horses: because, he having a merchant-mill, fourteen miles from the city of Baltimore, and the road being very bad, it was of great consequence to him to keep his horses in good condition, and he was therefore very curious about their hay. Having too, at that time, a waggoner (an Englishman) that took great pride in the appearance of his team, Mr. Gittings never suspected his conduct in any order he might give; but during the winter, going to look at the horses after what is called suppering them up at night, he found, to his great surprise, the brown hay in the rack. He immediately put himself in a passion about the matter; but the waggoner very mildly told him, he had found the horses to eat the brown hay the best; and if Mr. Gittings pleased, he would fetch some of the fine green hay and put in the rack at one end, and let the brown hay remain in the other, and he would see in the morning the brown hay would be eaten and the green hay left:—the man observed too that the green hay would sell for more in the market than the other, and thus there would be a saving. This was done; and in the morning the horses had eaten the brown hay, and left the green untouched. He made some other experiments of the like nature during the winter, and with the same effect.—But further. He could discover a difference in his next year's crop. The meadows that stood to be ripe had a much greater burthen than the rest; and he is fully convinced that the great cause of his meadows not wanting renewing, as in general others do, is the time of cutting. A similar circumstance is mentioned in my former work* in curing hay. I scarcely know any plant that it does not very materially injure, to cut it when the stump bleeds; I have known it entirely destroy a willow.—This gentleman waters greatest part of his meadows, and his is the most productive farm I ever saw in America. I rode over in the summer on purpose to see his timothy-meadows; which were very fine indeed, and vastly superior to any other in that country.

* Experienced Farmer, vol. ii. p. 99.

Now to resume my journey to view General Ridgely's farm.—In my way was the residence of Mr. Ringold, whom I have before mentioned. He had married a daughter of Mr. Gittings; and therefore I must spend a night with him too. He had built himself a very genteel house:

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—he said, in the English fashion; though a violent republican. His land was very poor, and every thing in an unfinished state. The next day he went with me to General Ridgely's, where I stopped some 71 days. The General's land is of great note, being what is termed limestone land, and more productive than any other in that country.

In America, limestone is usually reckoned the best soil. As this was quite contrary to my former ideas, I wished much to inform myself of the nature of the limestone land there. I thought it might in all probability grow saintfoin; and it would be of great value, should that prove the case: but on examining the different strata, I found them very irregular; so much so, that to one square yard that would grow saintfoin, there were great distances that would not. I apprehend, from the different trials that have been made, it will not grow for any length of time, if it would at all: as I know in England saintfoin land must be regular, and no great distance from the rock; for this herb in general takes its nutriment from the stone, and not from the surface or top soil, and the young plant will die before it reaches the stone if at 72 much depth. I was, therefore, frustrated in my projects on this head.

The farm which the General had intended for me, was of four hundred acres; with a very good new house, smoke-house, a spring-house for milk, and several other useful and profitable things, besides a young orchard of ten acres; and the whole at about four shillings currency per acre yearly rent. Indeed he offered it at my own price; and to purchase me ploughs, horses, negroes, and every thing else I might want for the cultivation, and let me have the money at common interest. I kindly thanked him:— but, however, rejected this offer.

The great cause of the fertility of the limestone lands is, that the stone keeps it cool in that hot climate. The General's lands are very well cultivated, and much better than most others in the country: his cattle, sheep, horses, &c. of a superior sort, and in much finer condition than many that I saw in America. He is very famous for race-horses, and usually keeps 73 three or four horses in training, and what enables him to do this is, that he has very extensive iron-works, or otherwise he could not. He is a very genteel man, and is

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said to keep the best table in America. I continued in friendship with him to the time of my leaving the country; and as he had a house in Baltimore, where he spent his winter, I often experienced his great hospitality.

In the General's farm was a part (of fifty acres) equal in quality to Mr. Gittings's for timothy-meadow: and by pains and labour it might be watered; but the expence of those things in America are not to be estimated, which forbids all improvements. Besides, the roads from thence to Baltimore are so bad for carriages, as to be a day's work in the winter for a team; and horses are of much more chargeable keeping than in England, from the two extremes of hot and cold. These fifty acres produced a sort of grass, by nature rather superior to most that I saw in the country: 74 indeed, as a farm, it had the greatest natural advantages of any farms I had occasion to view that were to let.

While I remained with the General, a half brother of his (of the name of Holiday) came and gave me an invitation to go to see him. This gentleman was said to be one of the best farmers in America; and was as much distinguished for tillage as Mr. Gittings for meadow. I went and stopped a day with him: and as his farm joined to General Ridgely's estates, I had great satisfaction in his company; and got my own ideas substantiated by facts from him, he having tried saintfoin, rye-grass, and several other English grasses, and different things in the same way. He grew wheat upon his land, or on a small part of it. He told me it was a very precarious crop; that his best produce was from eight to ten bushels per acre; and sometimes not even the seed again, it being frequently totally destroyed by the Hessian fly. In rich or highly-manured lands, the crops of wheat 75 are seldom destroyed by that insect. On the whole he concluded, there was nothing to be got by growing wheat in that part of the country.—He shewed me his sheep; which were from the Cape of Good Hope, and as fine as ever I saw of that sort, and in good condition: but the number, though six hundred acres of land in the farm, was only sixteen sheep. In general, the sheep kept are merely to grow wool for making negroes' stockings, a little lamb and mutton for

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themselves, and some few for the butcher; as no part of America is proper for sheep, that I ever saw.

I again returned to Baltimore; and met with a Mr. O'Donnell, who, having been informed of me, desired me to be introduced to him—being himself confined to his bed with the gout. Though I had begun to entertain a very low opinion of the American lands, he still lowered it more; for he told me that he had brought between sixty and seventy thousand pounds sterling from the East-Indies into America, and 76 could not live comfortably with it. The cultivation of one's own land, he was sure would make any man poor.

He had just got from Mr. Honeyborn a bull and two cows, which had cost him one thousand pounds currency. He wished me to dine with him. I did so; and he made me promise to go, as soon as he was well enough, to Canton (the name of the place where he kept these fine cattle) to give my opinion of them. That plantation was at the distance of a mile and a half from Baltimore; and consisted of two thousand five hundred acres.—Soon afterwards a day was appointed; and I accompanied Mr. O'Donnell, General Ridgely, and a Mr. Gough, to Canton. This last gentleman was distinguished for breeding short-horned and large cattle; although very improper for America, as no poor land ought to have large animals upon it. We found two tolerably good cows, or what must be termed very good ones in America; the bull was but so-so. I gave Mr. O'Donnell 77 every encouragement on this new breed. General Ridgely was highly pleased with the sight; and Mr. Gough having some time before sold a bull to Mr. O'Donnell, by my desire a comparative view was taken of the two bulls—when Mr. Gough was so well convinced of the superiority of the long-horned, that he desired to have the first bull-calf that Mr. O'Donnell would sell. We saw also some Chinese pigs, which were not good at all; some blood-horses; an imported Irish cow; and several other things:—as a straw-chopper of a new construction, but of no utility; a most beautiful green-house; a very handsome garden, in great order; and a hot-house. Upon the whole, it was a very magnificent place for that country; though I have heard Mr. O'Donnell frequently say, he would rather live two years in England than ten years in America. We returned, and dined at Mr. O'Donnell's. He wished me to call on him again,

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the first opportunity; which I did, and spent part of a day 78 with him. He then surprised me more than ever, by opening a fresh scene of distress to me, which I felt sorry for.

From the many civilities I had received in the town of Baltimore, I began to have a respect for it; and General Washington having in a most friendly manner given me his opinion of the whole country, so that I might know how to situate myself, he had told me Baltimore was and would be the risingest town in America, except the federal city. But there being many things previously necessary, to make the produce get conveyed to the federal city, that now in greatest part goes to Baltimore—such as navigable cuts, turnpike-roads, &c.—I had made up my mind to settle near to Baltimore; thinking that as I was in America, and had got a large subscription to my intended treatise, a farm would employ my family, and improve my own ideas.—I knew that *situation* was a great point in any place; and especially where labour is so high, and indeed, in 79 some measure, scarcely to be obtained. The General told me, Philadelphia would decline; but New-York would always maintain an eminent commercial rank, from its position—the frost not stopping the navigation so early, and sometimes not at all. To convince me, he gave me reasons why Baltimore and the federal city must be ultimately places of great trade; observing, that from all the western country, which is so extensive, and is said to be fertile, the produce must come to these two markets—the Potowmac bringing it to the federal city, and the Susquehanna to Baltimore.

To return to Mr. O'Donnell's information.—It was, that the merchants in Baltimore, as a body of men, were not worth a guinea; and that in the course of one year, there would be such distress among them as would amaze me. He said, there were indeed rich merchants in the place, but these could not overbalance the poor ones. Now, according to Mr. O'Donnell's observation, this happened; and forty 80 merchants failed in one month. He likewise told me that when peace should come, one-third of the inhabitants must leave Baltimore. It may be necessary to observe to the reader, that Mr. O'Donnell is materially concerned in that city; he having there wharfs, houses, &c. to an immense amount. Before that time, I thought Baltimore one of the most industrious, lively places I ever saw, and do

so yet: but from my observations on all things, I do not know how a body of people can be nationally rich, where land is poor; for, if the produce costs more in raising and sending to market than it is worth, I cannot see from whence the riches of such a nation are to come. Now, from the calculations which will be hereafter stated under the head of Experiments, it will appear plainly that the lands of America are so barren, that it will cost a man more to raise a crop, and carry it to market, and return with what he has obtained for his article, than will afford him the usual comforts of life.

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The day after I left Mr. O'Donnell, I had an offer from Mr. John Holmes, of a grazing-farm on the Susquehanna river, opposite Havre-de-Grace, and thirty-seven miles from Baltimore. This was said to be one of the best grazing-farms in America,—there was a mill seat upon it, and every advantage. Mr. Holmes offered to join with me in the concern. Finding the tillage-farms in America to be attended with so much expence, I was ready to embrace this proposal: my friend Mr. O'Donnell having offered me the use of a horse, I took a ride to view the situation, accompanied by a Mr. Allen, a very respectable merchant from Philadelphia.

The weather, however, being bad, and Mr. Allen's company very agreeable, I went forward to Philadelphia (without staying to look at this farm), with letters of introduction from different gentlemen in Baltimore to some respectable persons in Philadelphia; and as congress was at that time sitting, I had great opportunities both of acquiring information and of soliciting subscriptions to my intended Treatise. My first introduction was to Colonel Howard, a very worthy man, and member of the senate: his wife was one of the Chews family in Philadelphia.—From him I got introduced to Mr. Jefferson, the then vice-president, and now president. This gentleman, being very fond of the subject of agriculture, was kind enough to ask me to step into his room any time when I should find him at leisure. On such occasions a most pleasant man I found him. His travels having been chiefly into France, I was much edified by hearing what was the practice there;—and likewise what sort of agriculture he carried on in that part of Virginia where he lived.

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He made me a present of the mold-board of a plough he had invented himself; and told me of some red peas, which he offered to give me. He invited me to go to visit him, and showed me every possible civility. He told me the average crops of wheat in Virginia and 83 Maryland were nearly three bushels and a half per acre.—I was next introduced to a gentleman of distinguished character; Mr. Boadley, the author of some Sketches upon Agriculture, which I shall insert in the present work. This I shall do to authenticate my calculations; and as showing the produce in Pennsylvania, and on the Chesapeake on the Bay. He having a most valuable estate on Why-Island, which he cultivated himself for some years, the greater part of this work is the result of actual experience.—Mr. Boadley introduced me to Judge Peters; who had written on the mode of using plaster of Paris, and its efficacy. I obtained some useful knowledge from him.—I was then introduced to Mr. Stoddard, secretary of the navy; to Mr. Timothy Pickering, secretary of the war-office; and several other eminent characters.—I omitted waiting on Mr. Adams, the then president, being told by Mr. Pickering that he never subscribed to books.—I soon after became acquainted with Mr. Jeremiah Warder, G 2 84 a quaker, a very useful and intelligent man; and he introduced me to a Mr. William West, who is famous for the improvements he has made on grass, particularly timothy. He feeds large quantities of cattle; and appears to have great judgment on the subject. Mr. Warder had some of the best Chinese pigs I ever saw; the most beautiful that can be imagined: from my being so pleased with them, he has sent some over into this country, to a Mr. Barber's, somewhere near Derby.

After staying in Philadelphia some days, I got letters of introduction to different gentlemen in New-York; particularly the Livingstones, who are very distinguished characters, one of them being chancellor. They made me an offer of an estate, formerly Lord Starting's; but the weather being very severe, and I now almost weary of looking at lands in which I found none that I liked, I declined their kindness.—I met with Mr. William King, brother to Mr. Rufus King, the American consul in 85 England. He appeared a very well informed man. He asked me much to go to see him; and wished me to fix myself in the country where he lived, about three hundred miles north; but my curiosity began to be satisfied, and I

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resolved to live in some settled part. I was very much attached to Baltimore; finding that New-York and Philadelphia were much cheaper supplied with the land's produce than that city:—they having great plenty of hay, more clover than could be sold, excellent beef, good veal, (the mutton but middling,) pork very fine, turkeys very fine, and all sorts of poultry; vegetables in very great plenty. I returned, therefore, from New-York, after passing a few days; and having an introductory letter from Mr. Warder to the quakers, I received many civilities from them, particularly as subscribers to my books.

In my return from New-York to Philadelphia I had promised to meet Mr. Warder, at a plantation of his; which caused me to change my road. In my journey between 86 New-York and Philadelphia along that road, the farm-houses seemed to be as thickly planted as in most parts of England, and had a greater show of produce than I ever saw any where else in America; but from the best information I could get, land was very dear.—I met Mr. Warder at his farm. He had an English servant, who had formerly lived in the county of Lincoln, and who now complained very heavily of America: the man brought over one hundred pounds sterling with him; and though he had been no adventurer, yet he had got rid of most of his money: he talked much of returning. Mr. Warder had built a barn of a large size, I imagine on a Dutch plan; it had cellars under it, arched, for turnips, potatoes, &c. to keep them from the most severe frost. I found many of this sort of improvements; but nothing in them, or so little as to be worth no notice; which disgusted me much with this reputed rich land country.—All this time I had not seen any wheat, barley, or oat-stacks, nor any thing of the kind. 87 There were a few half-starved cattle; in general standing shaking with cold, and many more complaining of what they call the hollow-horn. This arises from matter in the horn, which kills numbers. They cut the horns off in some that are affected, or stop up the hollow part of the horns (after the matter is run out) with rosin and tow, this repeated as a dressing to a wound; and thus they cure now and then one. The Hessian fly is another complaint.—Little or no wheat grown there; the *rust* (which we call mildew) much prevails. I rather suspect that a fat beast never has the hollow-horn:

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it comes from cold and hunger, which is the general complaint of the animals in America; and from the two extremes of weather, it must be expected, and want of food.

After viewing Mr. Warder's improvements, I returned with him to Philadelphia. Here I was met by Judge Turner, who had been at Mount-Vernon and had heard of me. He offered to give me two hundred 88 acres of land called priory, that is, rich meadow without wood upon it, to be chosen out of six thousand acres. This staggered me much, and I had almost made up my mind to go; but having got acquainted with a gentleman named Woods, a member of congress, who lived, at Pittsburgh, I told him my offer and intention. He at once condemned the design which appeared to me so reasonable. He said it would be shameful to allow me to go; the situation was about eight hundred miles from Philadelphia, and as far from market; and all the produce must be raised by my own labour and that of my family—and as to money, there would be no such thing. He said, none but fools ought to go; and he would much rather, from the respect he entertained for me, follow me to my grave, than see me set off to such a place. This gentleman, who lives near those back countries, thus prevented me accepting any of the lands; and on this account I shall ever respect his name: for since that time, I 89 have met with some from those back woods who now and then stray into a city; and they look like persons who have been lost in a wilderness for years.

About this time I met with General Humpton, who had been an officer in the American war, and a great friend to General Washington; and I told him of Judge Turner's kind offer. He condemned the scheme totally, and gave me the following narratives, published by Dr. Knight and Mr. Slover, of the cruel murder of Colonel Crawford, by the Indians in the back woods of Kentucky, and of their wonderful escape; from which will be seen the danger I avoided by not settling in those parts.

Dr. Knight says—"About the latter end of the month of March, or the beginning of April, of the year 1782, the western Indians began to make incursions upon the frontiers of Ohio, Washington, Youghagany, and Westmoreland counties, which has been their constant

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practice ever since the commencement 90 of the present war between the United States and Great-Britain.

“In consequence of these predatory invasions, the principal officers of the above-mentioned counties, namely, Colonels Williamson and Marshall, tried every method in their power to set on foot an expedition against the Wyandot towns, which they could effect no other way than by giving all possible encouragement to volunteers. The plan proposed was as follows: Every man furnishing himself with a horse, a gun, and one month's provisions, should be exempted from two tours of militia duty. Likewise that every one who had been plundered by the Indians, should, if the plunder could be found at their towns, have it again, proving it to be his property: and all horses lost on the expedition, by unavoidable accident, were to be replaced by horses taken in the enemy's country.

“The time appointed for the rendezvous, or general meeting of the volunteers, was 91 fixed to be on the 20th of May, and the place, the old Mingoe town on the west side of the river Ohio, about forty miles below Fort Pitt by land, and I think about seventy-five by water.

“Colonel Crawford was solicited by the general voice of these western counties and districts to command the expedition. He accordingly set out as volunteer, and came to Fort Pitt two days before the time appointed for the assembling of the men. As there was no surgeon yet appointed to go with the expedition, Colonel Crawford begged the favour of General Irvine to permit me to accompany him, (my consent having been previously asked,) to which the General agreed provided Colonel Gibson did not object.

“Having obtained permission of the Colonel, I left Fort Pitt on Tuesday, May 1st, and the next day about one in the afternoon arrived at the Mingoe bottom. The volunteers had not all crossed the river until Friday morning the 24th, they then 92 distributed themselves into eighteen companies, choosing their captains by vote. There were chosen, also, one colonel commandant, four field and one brigade-major. There were four hundred and sixty-five who voted.

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"We began our march on Saturday May 25th, making almost a due west course, and on the fourth day reached the old Moravian town, upon the river Muskingum, about sixty miles from the river Ohio. Some of the men, having lost their horses on the night preceding, returned home.

"Tuesday the 28th, in the evening, Major Brenton and Captain Bean went some distance from camp to reconnoitre: having gone about one quarter of a mile they saw two Indians upon whom they fired, and then returned to camp. This was the first place in which we were discovered, as we understood afterwards.

"On Thursday the 4th of June, which was the eleventh day of our march, about one o'clock we came to the spot where the 93 town of Sandusky formerly stood: the inhabitants had moved eighteen miles lower down the creek, nearer the lower Sandusky: but as neither our guides nor any who were with us had known any thing of their removal, we began to conjecture there were no Indian towns nearer than the lower Sandusky, which was at least forty miles distant.

"However, after refreshing our horses, we advanced on in search of some of their settlements, but had scarcely got the distance of three or four miles from the old town when a number of our men expressed their desire to return, some of them alleging that they had only five days' provision: upon which the field-officers and captains determined, in council, to proceed that afternoon, and no longer. Previous to the calling of this council, a small party of light-horse had been sent forward to reconnoitre.

"I shall here remark, by the way, that there are a great many extensive plains in that country. The woods in general grow 94 very thin, free from brush and underwood: so that light-horsemen may advance a considerable distance before an army without being much exposed to the enemy.

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“Just as the council ended, an express returned from the above-mentioned party of light-horse with intelligence, ‘That they ‘had been about three miles in front, and ‘had seen a large body of Indians running ‘towards them.’—In a short time we saw the rest of the light-horse, who joined us; and, having gone one mile further, met a number of Indians, who had partly got possession of a piece of woods before us whilst we were in the plains; but our men, alighting from their horses and rushing into the woods, soon obliged them to abandon that place.

“The enemy, being by this time reinforced, flanked to the right; and, part of them coming in our rear, quickly made the action more serious. The firing continued very warm on both sides, from four o'clock until the dusk of the evening, each party 95 maintaining their ground. Next morning, about six o'clock, some guns were discharged at the distance of two or three hundred yards, which continued till day, doing little or no execution on either side.

“The field-officers then assembled and agreed, as the enemy were every moment increasing, and we had already a number wounded, to retreat that night. The whole body was to form into three lines, keeping the wounded in the centre. We had four killed and twenty-three wounded; of the latter, seven very dangerously; on which account as many biers were got ready to carry them: most of the rest were slightly wounded, and none so bad but they could ride on horseback. After dark, the officers went on the out-posts, and brought in all the men as expeditiously as they could. Just as the troops were about to form, several guns were fired by the enemy; upon which some of our men spoke out and said, ‘Our intention was discovered by the ‘Indians, who were firing alarm-guns.’ 96 Upon which some in front hurried off, and the rest immediately followed, leaving the seven men that were dangerously wounded; some of whom, however, got off on horseback, by means of some good friends, who waited for, and assisted them.

“We had not got a quarter of a mile from the field of action, when I heard Colonel Crawford calling for his son, John Crawford; his son-in-law, Major Harrison; Major Rose and William

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Crawford, his nephews: upon which I came up and told him, I believed they were before us.—He asked, ‘Was that the Doctor?’—I told him, it was.—He then replied, they were not in front, and begged of me not to leave him.—I promised him I would not.

“We then waited, and continued calling for these men till the troops had passed us. The Colonel told me, his horse had almost given out; that he could not keep up with the troops; and wished some of his best friends to remain with him. He then exclaimed against the militia, for riding off in 97 such an irregular manner, and leaving some of the wounded behind, contrary to his orders. Presently there came two men riding after us; one of them an old man, the other a lad: we enquired if they had seen any of the above persons; and they answered they had not.

“By this time there was a very hot firing before us, and, as we judged, near where our main body must have been. Our course was then nearly south-west; but, changing it, we went north about two miles, the two men remaining in company with us. Judging ourselves to be now out of the enemy's lines, we took a due east course, taking care to keep at the distance of fifteen or twenty yards apart, and directing ourselves by the north-star.

“The old man often lagged behind; and, when this was the case, never failed to call for us to halt for him. When we were near the Sandusky Creek he fell one hundred yards behind, and bawled out, as usual, for us to halt. While we were preparing to H 98 reprimand him for making a noise, I heard an Indian halloo, as I thought one hundred and fifty yards from the man, and partly behind him: after this we did not hear the man call again, neither did he ever come up to us any more. It was now past midnight, and about day-break Colonel Crawford's and the young man's horses gave out, and they left them. We pursued our journey eastward, and about two o'clock fell in with Captain Biggs, who had carried Lieutenant Ashley from the field of action, who had been dangerously wounded. We then went on about the space of an hour, when a heavy rain coming on, we concluded it was best to encamp, as we were encumbered with the wounded officer. We then barked four or five trees, made an encampment and a fire, and remained there all that night. Next

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morning we again prosecuted our journey; and, having gone about three miles, found a deer which had been recently killed. The meat was sliced from the bones, and bundled up in the skin, with a tomahawk 99 lying by it. We carried all with us, and, in advancing about one mile further, espied the smoke of a fire. We then gave the wounded officer into the charge of the young man, desiring him to stay behind, whilst the Colonel, the Captain, and myself, walked up as cautiously as we could toward the fire. When we came to it we concluded, from several circumstances, some of our people had encamped there the preceding night. We then went about roasting the venison; and, when just about to march, observed one of our men coming upon our tracks. He seemed at first very shy; but, having called to him, he came up, and told us he was the person who had killed the deer; but upon hearing us come up, was afraid of Indians, hid in a thicket, and made off. Upon this, we gave him some bread and roasted venison, proceeded altogether on our journey, and about two o'clock came upon the paths by which we had gone out. Captain Biggs and myself did not think it safe to keep the road; but the H 2 100 Colonel said, the Indians would not follow the troops farther than the plains, which we were then considerably past. As the wounded officer rode Captain Biggs's horse, I lent the Captain mine; the Colonel and myself went about one hundred yards in front, the Captain and the wounded officer in the centre, and the two young men behind. After we had travelled about one mile and a half, several Indians started up within fifteen or twenty steps of the Colonel and me. As we at first discovered only three, I immediately got behind a large black oak, made ready my piece and raised it up to take sight, when the Colonel called to me twice not to fire; upon that one of the Indians ran up to the Colonel and took him by the hand. The Colonel then told me to put down my gun, which I did. At that instant one of them came up to me, whom I had formerly seen very often, calling me 'Doctor!' and took me by the hand. They were Delaware Indians of the Wingenim tribe.—Captain Biggs fired amongst them, but did 101 no execution. They then told us, to call these people and make them come there, else they would go and kill them, which the Colonel did; but they four got off, and escaped for that time. The Colonel and I were then taken to the Indian camp, which was about half a mile from the place, where we were captivated. On Sunday evening, five Delawares, who had

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posted themselves at some distance further on the road, brought back to the camp, where we lay, Captain Biggs' and Lieutenant Ashley's scalps, with an Indian scalp which Captain Biggs had taken in the field of action: they also brought in Biggs' horse and mine; they told us the two other men got away from them.

"Monday morning, the 10th of June, we were paraded to march to Sandusky, about thirty-three miles distant: they had eleven prisoners of us and four scalps, the Indians being seventeen in number.

"Colonel Crawford was very desirous to see a certain Simeon Girty, who lived among the Indians, and was on this account permitted to go to town the same night, with two warriors to guard him, having orders at the same time to pass by the place where the Colonel had turned out his horse, that they might, if possible, find him. The rest of us were taken as far as the old town, which was within eight miles of the new.

"Tuesday morning, the 11th, Colonel Crawford was brought out to us, on purpose to be marched in with the other prisoners. I asked the Colonel if he had seen Mr. Girty?—He told me, he had; and that Girty had promised to do every thing in his power for him: but that the Indians were very much enraged against the prisoners; particularly Captain Pipe, one of the chiefs. He likewise told me, that Girty had informed him that his son-in-law (Colonel Harrison) and his nephew (William Crawford) were made prisoners by the Shawanese, but had been pardoned. This Captain Pipe had come from the towns about an hour before Colonel Crawford, and had painted all the prisoners' faces black.

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"As he was painting me, he told me I should go to the Shawanese towns and see my friends. When the Colonel arrived, he painted him black also; told him he was glad to see him, and that he would have him shaved when he came to see his friends at the Wyandot town. When we marched, the Colonel and I were kept back, between Pipe and Wyngenim, the two Delaware chiefs; the other nine prisoners were sent forward with another party of

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Indians. As we went along, we saw four of the prisoners lying by the path tomahawked and scalped; some of them were at the distance of half a mile from each other. When we arrived within half a mile of the place where the Colonel was executed, we overtook the five prisoners that remained alive: the Indians had caused them to sit down on the ground, as they did; also the Colonel and me at some distance from them: I was there given in charge to an Indian fellow, to be taken to the Shawanese towns.

"In the place where we were now made 104 to sit down there was a number of squaws and boys, who fell on the five prisoners and tomahawked them. There was a certain John M'Kinley amongst the prisoners, formerly an officer in the 13th Virginia regiment, whose head an old squaw cut off, and the Indians kicked it about upon the ground. The young Indian fellows came often where the Colonel and I were, and dashed the scalps in our faces. We were then conducted along toward the place where the Colonel was afterwards executed: when we came within about half a mile of it, Simeon Girty met us, with several Indians on horseback. He spoke to the Colonel; but, as I was about one hundred and fifty yards behind, could not hear what passed between them.

"Almost every Indian we met struck us, either with sticks or their fists. Girty waited till I was brought up, and asked, 'Was that the Doctor?'—I told him, 'Yes;' and went toward him reaching out my hand: but he bid me 'Be gone!' and called 105 me 'A d—d rascal!' upon which the fellow who had me in charge pulled me along. Girty rode up after me, and told me I was to go to the Shawanese towns.

"When we were come to the fire the Colonel was stripped naked, ordered to sit down by the fire, and then they beat him with sticks and their fists. Presently after I was treated in the same manner. They then tied a rope to the foot of a post about fifteen feet high, bound the Colonel's hands behind his back, and fastened the rope to the ligature between his wrists. The rope was long enough either for him to sit down or walk round the post once or twice, and return the same way. The Colonel then called to Girty, and asked if they intended to burn him?—Girty answered, 'Yes.' The Colonel said, he would take it all

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patiently. Upon this, Captain Pipe, a Delaware chief, made a speech to the Indians, viz. about thirty or forty men, sixty or seventy squaws and boys.

“When the speech was finished, they all 106 yelled a hideous and hearty assent to what had been said. The Indian men then took up their guns and shot powder into the Colonel's body, from his feet as far up as his neck. I think not less than seventy loads were discharged upon his naked body. They then crowded about him; and, to the best of my observation, cut off his ears: when the throng had dispersed a little, I saw the blood running from both sides of his head in consequence thereof.

“The fire was about six or seven yards from the post to which the Colonel was tied: it was made of small hickory poles, burnt quite through in the middle, each end of the poles remaining about six feet in length. Three or four Indians, by turns, would take up, individually, one of these burning pieces of wood and apply it to his naked body, already burned black with the powder. These tormentors presented themselves on every side of him, so that whichever way he ran round the post they met him with the burning faggots and poles. 107 Some of the squaws took broad boards upon which they would put a quantity of burning coals and hot embers, and throw on him, so that in a short time he had nothing but coals of fire and hot ashes to walk upon.

“In the midst of these extreme tortures he called to Simeon Girty, and begged of him to shoot him: but Girty making no answer, he called to him again. Girty then, by way of derision, told the Colonel he had no gun; at the same time, turning about to an Indian who was behind him, laughed heartily, and by all his gestures seemed delighted at the horrid scene.

“Girty then came up to me, and bade me prepare for death. He said, however, I was not to die at that place, but to be burnt at the Shawanese towns. He swore by G—d! I need not expect to escape death, but should suffer it in all its extremities.

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“He then observed that some prisoners had given him to understand that if our people had him they would not hurt him; for his part, he said, he did not believe it, but 108 desired to know my opinion of the matter; but being at that time in great anguish and distress for the torments the Colonel was suffering before my eyes, as well as the expectation of undergoing the same fate in two days, I made little or no answer. He expressed a great deal of ill-will for Colonel Gibson, and said he was one of his greatest enemies, and more to the same purpose; to all which I paid very little attention.

“Colonel Crawford, at this period of his sufferings, besought the Almighty to have mercy on his soul, spoke very low, and bore his torments with the most manly fortitude. He continued in all the extremities of pain for an hour and three quarters, or two hours longer, as near as I can judge; when at last, being almost spent, he lay down on his belly: they then scalped him, and repeatedly threw the scalp in my face, telling me ‘That was my great Captain!’—An old squaw (whose appearance every way answered the ideas people entertain 109 of the devil) got a board, took a parcel of coals and ashes, and laid them on his back and head after he had been scalped. He then raised himself upon his feet, and began to walk round the post: they next put a burning stick to him as usual, but he seemed more insensible of pain than before.

“The Indian fellow who had me in charge now took me away to Captain Pipe's house, about three quarters of a mile from the place of the Colonel's execution. I was bound all night, and thus prevented from seeing the last of the horrid spectacle. Next morning, being June 12th, the Indian untied me, painted me black, and we set off for the Shawanese town, which he told me was somewhat less than forty miles from that place. We soon came to the spot where the Colonel had been burnt, as it was partly in our way: I saw his bones lying amongst the remains of the fire almost burnt to ashes. I suppose, after he was dead, they had laid his body on the fire.

"The Indian told me, that was my Big 110 Captain! and gave the scalp halloo. He was on horseback, and drove me before him.

"I pretended to this Indian I was ignorant of the death I was to die at the Shawanese town, affected as cheerful a countenance as possible, and asked him if we were not to live together as brothers in one house when we should get to the town? He seemed well pleased, and said 'Yes.' He then asked me if I could make a wigwam?—I told him, 'I could.' He then seemed more friendly. We went that day as near as I can judge about twenty-five miles, the course partly south-west. The Indian told me we should next day come to the town, the sun being in such a direction, pointing nearly south. At night, when we went to rest, I attempted very often to untie myself; but the Indian was extremely vigilant, and scarcely ever shut his eyes that night. About day-break he got up and untied me: he next began to mend up the fire; and, as the gnats were troublesome, I asked him if I should make a smoke behind him?—He 111 said, 'Yes.' I then took the end of a dogwood fork, which had been burnt down to about eighteen inches long: it was the longest stick I could find, yet too small for the purpose I had in view: then I picked up another stick; and, taking a coal of fire between them, went behind him: then, turning suddenly about, I struck him on the head with all the force I was master of, which so stunned him that he fell forwards with both his hands into the fire; but seeing him recover and get up, I seized his gun, while he ran off howling in a most fearful manner. I followed him with a determination to shoot him down; but, pulling back the cock of the gun with too great violence, I believe I broke the main spring. I pursued him, however, about thirty yards, still endeavouring to fire the gun, but could not: then, going back to the fire, I took his blanket, a pair of new moccasins, his hoppers, powder-horn, bullet-bag, together with the gun, and marched off, directing my course toward the five 112 o'clock mark. About half an hour before sun-set I came to the plains, which I think are about sixteen miles wide. I laid me down in a thicket till dark, and then by the assistance of the north-star made my way through them, and got into the woods before morning. I proceeded on the next day; and, about noon, crossed the paths by which our troops had gone out: these paths

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are nearly east and west; but I went due north all that afternoon with a view to avoid the enemy.

“In the evening I began to be very faint: and no wonder;—I had been six days prisoner; the last two days of which I had eat nothing, and but very little the first three or four. There were wild gooseberries in abundance in the woods; but, being unripe, required mastication, which at that time I was not able to perform, on account of a blow received from an Indian on the jaw with the back of a tomahawk. There was a weed that grew plentifully in that place, the juice of which I knew to be ¹¹³ grateful and nourishing; I gathered a bundle of the same, took up my lodging under a large spreading beech-tree, and having sucked plentifully of the juice went to sleep. Next day I made a due east course, which I generally kept the rest of my journey. I often imagined my gun was only wood-bound, and tried every method I could devise to unscrew the lock; but never could effect it, having no knife nor any thing fitting for the purpose. I had now the satisfaction to find my jaw began to mend, and in four or five days could chew any vegetable proper for nourishment; but finding my gun only a useless burden, left her in the wilderness. I had no apparatus for making fire to sleep by, so that I could get but little rest for the gnats and musketoos: there are likewise a great many swamps in the beech-ridge, which occasioned me very often to lie wet. This ridge, through which I travelled, is about twenty miles broad, the ground in general very level and rich, free from ¹¹⁴ shrubs and brush: there are, however, very few springs; yet wells might easily be dug in all parts of that ridge: the timber on it is very lofty; but it is no easy matter to make a straight course through the same, the moss growing as high upon the south side of the trees as on the north. There are a great many white oaks, ash, and hickory-trees that grow among the beech timber: there are likewise some places on the ridge, perhaps for three or four continued miles, where there is little or no beech; and in such spots, black, white oak, ash, and hickory, abound. Sugar-trees grow there also to a very great bulk: the soil is remarkably good, the ground a little ascending and descending, with some small rivulets and a few springs. When I got out of the beech-ridge, and nearer the river Muskingum, the lands were more

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broken; but equally rich with those before mentioned, and abounding with brooks and springs of water. There are also several small creeks that empty into that river, the bed of which 115 is more than a mile wide in many places. The woods consist of white and black oaks, walnut, hickory, and sugar-tree, in the greatest abundance. In all parts of the country through which I came, the game was very plenty; that is to say, deer, turkeys, and pheasants: I likewise saw a great many vestiges of bears, and some elks.

"I crossed the river Muskingum about three or four miles below Fort Laurence; and, crossing all paths, aimed for the Ohio river. All this time my food was goose-berries, young nettles, the juice of herbs, a few service berries, and some May-apples; likewise, two young blackbirds and a turri-pine, which I devoured raw. When my food sat heavy on my stomach, I used to eat a little wild ginger, which put all to rights.

"I came upon Ohio river, about five miles below Fort M'Intosh, in the evening of the twenty-first day after I had made my escape; and on the twenty-second, about seven o'clock in the morning (being the 4th 12 116 day of July), arrived safe, though very much fatigued, at the Fort.

"Colonel Crawford was about fifty years of age; had been an old warrior against the savages. He distinguished himself early as a volunteer in the last war, and was taken notice of by Colonel (now General) Washington, who procured for him the commission of ensign. As a partisan, he showed himself very active, and was greatly successful: he took several Indian towns; and did great service in scouting, patrolling, and defending the frontiers. At the commencement of this war, he raised a regiment in the back-country by his own exertions. He had the commission of colonel in the continental army, and acted bravely on several occasions in the years 1776, 1777, and at other times. He held his commission at the time he took command of the militia in the aforesaid expedition against the Indians: most probably he had it with him when he was taken. He was a man of good judgment, singular good nature, and 117 great humanity, and remarkable for his hospitality; few strangers coming to the western country, and not spending some days at

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the crossings of the Yochaghany river where he lived: no man, therefore, could be more regretted.”

The following is the narrative of John Slover:

“Having in the last war been a prisoner amongst the Indians many years, and so being well acquainted with the country west of the Ohio, I was employed as a guide in the expedition under Colonel William Crawford against the Indian towns on or near the river Sandusky. It will be unnecessary for me to relate what is so well known, the circumstances and unfortunate event of that expedition; it will be sufficient to observe, that having on Tuesday the 4th of June fought the enemy near Sandusky, we lay that night in our camp, and the next day fired on each other at the distance of three hundred yards, doing little or no execution. In the evening of that day it was proposed 118 by Colonel Crawford, as I have been since informed, to draw off with order; but at the moment of our retreat the Indians (who had probably perceived that we were about to retire) firing alarm-guns, our men broke and rode off in confusion, treading down those who were on foot, and leaving the wounded men who supplicated to be taken with them.

“I was with some others on the rear of our troops, feeding our horses in the glade, when our men began to break. The main body of our people had passed by me a considerable distance before I was ready to set out. I overtook them before they crossed the glade, and was advanced almost in front. The company in which I was had separated from me, and had endeavoured to pass a morass; for, coming up, I found their horses had stuck fast in the morass, and, endeavouring to pass, mine also in a short time stuck fast. I ought to have said, the company of five or six men with which I had been immediately connected, and who 119 were some distance to the right of the main body, had separated from me, &c. I tried a long time to disengage my horse, until I could hear the enemy just behind me and on each side, but in vain. Here then I was obliged to leave him. The morass was so unstable that I was to the middle in it, and it was with the greatest difficulty that I got across

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it; but which having at length done, I came up with the six men, who had left their horses in the same manner I had done; two of these, my companions, having lost their guns.

“We travelled that night, making our course towards Detroit, with a view to shun the enemy, who we conceived to have taken the paths by which the main body of our people had retreated. Just before day we got into a second deep morass, and were under the necessity of stopping until it was light to see our way through it. The whole of this day we travelled toward the Shawanese towns, with a view of throwing ourselves still farther out of the search of the 120 enemy. About ten o'clock this day we sat down to eat a little, having tasted nothing from Tuesday, the day of our engagement, until this time which was on Thursday; and now the only thing we had to eat was a scrap of pork to each. We had sat down just by a warrior's path, which we had not suspected, when eight or nine warriors appeared. Running off hastily, we left our luggage and provisions; but were not discovered by the party: for skulking some time in the grass and bushes, we returned to the place, and recovered our baggage. The warriors had hallooed as they passed, and were answered by others on our flanks.

“In our journey through the glades, or wide-extended dry meadows, about twelve o'clock this day, we discovered a party of Indians in front; but, skulking in the grass and bushes, were not perceived by them. In these glades we were in great danger, as we could be seen at a great distance. In the afternoon of this day there fell a heavy rain, the coldest I ever felt. We halted 121 while it rained; and then, travelling on, we saw a party of the enemy, about two hundred yards before us, but hiding ourselves in the bushes, we had again the good fortune not to be discovered. This night we got out of the glades, having in the night crossed the paths by which we had advanced to Sandusky. It was our design to leave all these paths to the right, and to come in by the Tuscarawas. We should have made a much greater progress, had it not been for two of our companions who were lame: the one having his foot burnt; the other with a swelling in his knee, of a rheumatic nature.

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“On this day, which was the second after the retreat, one of our company, the person affected with the rheumatic swelling, was left behind some distance in a swamp. Waiting for him some time, we saw him coming within one hundred yards, as I sat on the body of an old tree, mending my moccasins; but taking my eye from him I saw him no more. He had not observed our tracks, but had gone a different way. 122 We whistled on our charges, and afterwards hallooed for him, but in vain. Nevertheless he was fortunate in missing us; for he afterwards came safe into Wheeling. We travelled on until night, and were on the waters of Muskingum, from the middle of this day.

“Having caught a fawn this day, we made a fire in the evening, and had a repast, having in the mean time eat nothing but the small bit of pork I mentioned before. We set off at break of day. About nine o'clock the third day, we fell in with a party of the enemy, about twenty miles from the Tascarawas, which is about one hundred and thirty-five miles from Fort Pitt. They had come upon our tracks, or had been on our flanks, and discovered us; and then, having got before, had way-laid us, and fired before we perceived them. At the first fire, one of my companions fell before me, and another just behind: these two had guns. There were six men in company, and four guns; two of these rendered useless 123 less by reason of the wet, when coming through the swamp the first night: we had tried to discharge them, but could not. When the Indians fired I ran to a tree; but an Indian, presenting himself fifteen yards before me, desired me to deliver myself up, and I should not be hurt. My gun was in good order; but, apprehending the enemy behind might discharge their pieces at me, I did not risk firing, which I had afterwards reason to regret, when I found what was to be my fate; and that the Indian who was before me, and presented his gun, was one of those who had just before fired. Two of my companions were taken with me in the same manner, the Indians assuring us we should not be hurt: but one in company, James Paul, who had a gun in order, made his escape, and has since come into Wheeling. One of these Indians knew me, and was of the party by whom I was taken in the last war.—He came up and spoke to me, calling me by my Indian name,

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Mannuchcothee, 124 and upbraiding me for coming to war against them.—I will take a moment here to relate some particulars of my first captivity, and my life since.

“I was taken from New River, in Virginia, by the Miamese, a nation of Indians by us called the Picts, amongst whom I lived six years. Afterwards being sold to a Delaware, and by him put into the hands of a trader, I was carried amongst the Shawanese, with whom I continued six years; so that my whole time amongst these nations was twelve years—that is, from the eighth to the twentieth year of my age. At the treaty at Fort Pitt, in the fall preceding what is called Dunmore's war (which, if I am right, was in the year 1773), I came in with the Shawanese nation to the treaty; and meeting with some of my relations at that place, was by them solicited to relinquish the life of a savage, which I did with some reluctance, this manner of life having become natural to me, inasmuch as I had scarcely known any other. I enlisted 125 as a soldier in the continental army at the commencement of the present war, and served fifteen months. Having been properly discharged, I have since married, have a family, and am in communion with the church.

“To return.—The party by whom we were made prisoners had taken some horses, and left them at the glades we had passed the day before. They had followed on our tracks from these glades; on our return to which, we found the horses and rode. We were carried to Wachatomakak, a town of the Mingoes and Shawanese. I think it was on the third day we reached the town; when we were approaching which, the Indians, in whose custody we were, began to look sour, having been kind to us before, and given us a little meat and flour to eat, which they had found or taken from some of our men on their retreat. This town is small, and we were told was about two miles distant from the main town, to which they meant to carry us.

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“The inhabitants from this town came out with clubs and tomahawks, struck, beat, and abused us greatly. One of my two companions they seized, and, having stripped him naked, blacked him with coal and water: this was the sign of being burnt;—the man

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seemed to surmise it, and shed tears. He asked me the meaning of his being blacked; but I was forbid by the enemy, in their own language, to tell him what was intended. In English, which they spoke easily, having been often at Fort Pitt, they assured him he was not to be hurt. I know of no reason for making him the first object of their cruelty, unless it was that he was the oldest.

“A warrior had been sent to the greater town to acquaint them with our coming, and prepare them for the frolic; for on our coming to it, the inhabitants came out with guns, clubs, and tomahawks. We were told that we had to run to the council-house, about three hundred yards. The man that was blacked was about twenty 127 yards before us, in running the gauntlet: they made him their principal object,—men, women, and children, beating him; and those who had guns firing loads of powder on him as he ran naked; putting the muzzles of the guns to his body, shouting, hallooing, and beating their drums, in the mean time.

“The unhappy man had reached the door of the council-house, beat and wounded in a manner shocking to the sight; for, having arrived before him, we had it in our power to view the spectacle: it was indeed the most horrid that can be conceived. They had cut him with their tomahawks, shot his body black, burnt it into holes with loads of powder blown into him: a large wadding had made a wound in his shoulder, whence the blood gushed.

“Agreeably to the declaration of the enemy when he first set out, he had reason to think himself secure when he had reached the door of the council-house. This seemed to be his hope; for, coming up with 128 great struggling and endeavour, he laid hold of the door, but was pulled back and drawn away by them. Finding they intended no mercy, but putting him to death, he attempted several times to snatch or lay hold of some of their tomahawks; but, being weak, could not effect it. We saw him borne off, and they were a long time beating, wounding, pursuing, and killing him.

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“That same evening I saw the dead body of this man close by the council-house. It was mangled cruelly, and the blood—mingled with the powder—was rendered black. The same evening I saw him, after he had been cut into pieces, and his limbs and his head, about two hundred yards on the outside of the town, put on poles. That evening also I saw the bodies of three others, in the same black and mangled condition: these, I was told, had been put to death the same day, and just before we had reached the town. Their bodies, as they lay, were black, bloody, and burnt with powder: two of these were Harrison and 129 young Crawford. I knew the visage of Colonel Harrison, and I saw his clothing and that of young Crawford at the town. They brought horses to me, and asked if I knew them?—I said, they were Harrison's and Crawford's.—They said, they were.

“The third of these men I did not know, but believe to have been Colonel M'Clelland, the third in command on the expedition.

“The next day, the bodies of these men were dragged to the outside of the town; and, their carcasses being given to the dogs, their limbs and heads were stuck on poles.

“My surviving companion, shortly after we had reached the council-house, was sent to another town; and I presume he was burnt or executed in the same manner.

“In the evening the men assembled in the council-house.—This is a large building, about fifty yards in length, and about twenty-five yards wide; and about sixteen feet in height: built of split poles covered with bark, Their first object was to examine K 130 me, which they could do in their own language; inasmuch as I could speak the Miame, Shawanese, and Delaware languages, which I had learned during my early captivity in the last war: I found I had not forgotten these languages, especially the two former, being able to speak them as well as my native tongue.

“They began with interrogating me concerning the situation of our country; what were our provisions; our numbers; the state of the war between us and Britain.—I informed them,

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Cornwallis had been taken; which, next day, when Matthew Elliot, with James Girty, came, he affirmed to be a lie, and the Indians seemed to give full credit to his declaration.

“Hitherto I had been treated with some appearance of kindness, but now the enemy began to alter their behaviour towards me. Girty had informed them, that when he asked me how I liked to live there, I had said that I intended to take the first opportunity to take a scalp and run off. It was, 131 to be sure, very probable that, if I had such intention, I would communicate it to him. Another man came to me, and told me a story of his having lived on the south branch of Potowmac, in Virginia; and, having three brothers there, he pretended he wanted to get away,—but I suspected his design: nevertheless, he reported that I had consented to go. In the mean time I was not tied, and could have escaped; but, having nothing to put on my feet, I waited some time longer to provide for this.

“I was invited every night to the war-dances, which they usually continued until almost day. I could not comply with their desire, believing these things to be the service of the devil.

“The council lasted fifteen days; from fifty to one hundred warriors being usually in council, and sometimes more. Every warrior is admitted to these councils; but only the chiefs, or head-warriors, have the privilege of speaking. The head-warriors K 2 132 are accounted such from the number of scalps and prisoners they have taken.

“The third day M'Kee was in council, and afterwards was generally present. He spoke little, and did not ask any questions, or speak to me at all. He lives about two miles out of the town, has a house built of squared logs with a shingled roof: he was dressed in gold-laced clothes. I had seen him at the former town through which I passed.

“I think it was on the last day of the council, save one, that a speech came from Detroit, brought by a warrior who had been counselling with the commanding-officer at that place. The speech had been long expected, and was in answer to one some time before sent from the town to Detroit. It was in a belt of wampum; and began with addressing them, ‘My ‘children!’ and enquiring why they continued to take prisoners. ‘Provisions are ‘scarce.

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When prisoners are brought in, 133 'we are obliged to maintain them; and 'still some of them are running away, and 'carrying tidings of our affairs. When 'any of your people fall into the hands of 'the rebels they shew no mercy: why then 'should you take prisoners? Take no 'more prisoners, my children, of any sort; 'man, woman, or child.'

"Two days after, a party of every nation that was near being collected, it was determined on to take no more prisoners of any sort. They had held a large council, and the determination was, that if it were possible they could find a child of a span or three inches long, they would shew no mercy to it. At the conclusion of the council, it was agreed upon by all the tribes present, viz. the Tawaws, Chiappawaws, the Wiondots, the Mingoes, the Delawares, the Shawanese, the Munsies, and a part the Cherokees, that should any of the nations who were not present take any prisoner, these would rise against them, take away the prisoners and put them to death.

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"In the course of these deliberations I understood what was said perfectly. They laid plans against our settlements of Kentucky, the Falls, and towards Wheeling. These it will be unnecessary for me to mention in this narrative; more especially as the Indians—finding me to have escaped, and knowing that I would not fail to communicate these designs—will be led to alter their resolutions.

"There was one council held at which I was not present. The warriors had sent for me as usual; but the squaw with whom I lived would not suffer me to go, but hid me under a large quantity of skins: it may have been from an unwillingness that I should hear in council the determination with respect to me, that I should be burnt.

"About this time twelve men were brought in from Kentucky, three of whom were burnt on this day: the remainder were distributed to other towns; and all, as the Indians informed me, were burnt. This was after the speech came from Detroit.

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"On this day also I saw an Indian who had just come into town, and who said that the prisoner he was bringing to be burnt, and who he said was a doctor, had made his escape from him. I knew this must have been Dr. Knight, who went as surgeon of the expedition. The Indian had a wound four inches long in his head, which he acknowledged the doctor had given him: he was cut to the skull. His story was, that he had untied the doctor, being asked by him to do so; the doctor promising that he would not go away: that while he was employed in kindling the fire, the doctor snatched up the gun, had come behind, and struck him: that he then made a stroke at the doctor with his knife, which he laid hold of, and his fingers were cut almost off, the knife being drawn through his hand: that he gave the doctor two stabs; one in the belly, the other in the back: said the doctor was a great, big, tall, strong man. Being now adopted in an Indian family, and having some confidence 136 for my safety, I took the liberty to contradict this; and said that I knew the doctor, who was a weak, little man. The other warriors laughed immoderately, and did not seem to credit him. At this time I was told that Colonel Crawford was burnt, and they greatly exulted over it.

"The day after the council I have mentioned, about forty warriors, accompanied by George Girty, came early in the morning round the house where I was. The squaw gave me up. I was sitting before the door of the house: they put a rope round my neck, tied my arms behind my back, stripped me naked, and blacked me in the usual manner. George Girty, as soon as I was tied, damned me; and said, that I now should get what I had deserved many years. I was led away to a town distant about five miles, to which a messenger had been dispatched to desire them to prepare to receive me. Arriving at this town, I was beaten with clubs and the pipe ends of their tomahawks, and was kept for some time 137 tied to a tree before a house-door. In the mean while the inhabitants set out to another town about two miles distant, where I was to be burnt, and where I arrived about three o'clock in the afternoon.

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“Here also was a council-house, part of it covered and part of it without a roof. In the part of it where no cover was, but only sides built up, there stood a post about sixteen feet in height, and in the middle of the house around the post there were three piles of wood built about three feet high and four feet from the post. Being brought to the post, my arms were tied behind me, and the thong or cord with which they were bound was fastened to the post; a rope also was put about my neck, and tied to the post about four feet above my head. During the time they were tying me, piles of wood were kindled and began to flame.

“Death by burning, which appeared to be now my fate, I had resolved to sustain with patience. The divine grace of God had made it less alarming to me: for, on my 138 way this day, I had been greatly exercised in regard to my latter end. I knew myself to have been a regular member of the church, and to have sought repentance for my sins; but though I had often heard of the faith of assurance, had known nothing of it; but early this day, instantaneously by a change wrought upon me sudden and perceivable as lightning, an assurance of my peace made with God sprung up in my mind. The following words were the subject of my meditation—‘In peace thou shalt see God. ‘Fear not those who can kill the body. ‘In peace shalt thou depart.’ I was on this occasion, by a confidence in mind not to be resisted, fully assured of my salvation. This being the case, I was willing, satisfied, and glad to die.

“I was tied to the post, as I have already said, and the flame was now kindled. The day was clear, not a cloud to be seen: if there were clouds low in the horizon, the sides of the house prevented me from seeing them; but I heard no thunder, nor observed any 139 sign of approaching rain. Just as the fire of one pile began to blaze, the wind rose:—from the time they began to kindle the fire and to tie me to the post, until the wind began to blow, was about fifteen minutes.—The wind blew a hurricane, and the rain followed in less than three minutes. The rain fell violently; and the fire, though it began to blaze considerably, was instantly extinguished. The rain lasted about a quarter of an hour.

"When it was over, the savages stood amazed, and were a long time silent. At last one said, 'We will let him alone till 'morning, and take a whole day's frolic in 'burning him.' The sun at this time was about three hours high. It was agreed upon, and the rope about my neck was untied; and, making me sit down, they began to dance around me. They continued dancing in this manner until eleven o'clock at night: in the mean time, beating, kicking, and wounding me with their tomahawks and clubs.

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"At last one of the warriors (the Half Moon) asked me if I was sleepy? I answered, 'Yes.' The head warrior then chose out three men to take care of me. I was taken to a block-house; my arms were tied until the cord was hid in the flesh; they were tied in two places, round the wrist and above the elbows. A rope was fastened about my neck, and tied to a beam of the house, but permitting me to lie down on a board. The three warriors were constantly harassing and troubling me, saying, 'How will you like to eat fire to-morrow? —You will kill no more Indians now!' I was in expectation of their going to sleep; when, at length, about an hour before day break, two laid down; the third smoked a pipe, talked to me, and asked the same painful questions. About half an hour after he also laid down, and I heard him begin to snore. Instantly I went to work; and (as my arms were perfectly dead with the cord) I laid myself down upon my right arm, which was behind my back;— and 141 keeping it fast with my fingers, which had still some life and strength, I slipped the cord from my left arm over my elbow and my wrist. One of the warriors now got up and stirred the fire: I was apprehensive that I should be examined, and thought it was over with me; but my hopes revived when now he lay down again. I then attempted to unloose the rope about my neck,—tried to gnaw it, but in vain; as it was as thick as my thumb, and as hard as iron, being made of a buffalo hide: I wrought with it a long time, gave it out, and could see no relief. At this time I saw day break and heard the cock crow: I made a second attempt, almost without hope, pulling the rope by putting my fingers between my neck and it, and to my great surprise it came easily untied: it was a noose with two or three knots tied over it.

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"I stept over the warriors as they lay; and, having got out of the house, looked back to see if there was any disturbance: I then ran through the town into a corn-field. 142 In my way, I saw a squaw, with four or five children, lying asleep under a tree: going a different way into the field, I untied my arm, which was greatly swelled and turned black. Having observed a number of horses in the glade as I ran through it, I went back to catch one, and on my way found a piece of an old rug or quilt hanging on a fence, which I took with me. Having caught the horse, the rope with which I had been tied serving for a halter, I rode off. The horse was strong and swift; and the woods being open and the country level, about ten o'clock that day I crossed the Sciota river, at a place by computation fifty full miles from the town. I had rode about twenty miles on this side Sciota by three o'clock in the afternoon, when the horse began to fail, and could no longer go on a trot. I instantly left him, and on foot ran about twenty miles farther that day, making in the whole the distance of near one hundred miles. In the evening I heard hallooming behind me, and for this reason did not 143 halt until about ten o'clock at night, when I sat down, was extremely sick, and vomited; but when the moon rose, which might have been about two hours after, I went on, and travelled until day.

"During the night I had a path; but in the morning judged it prudent to forsake the path, and take a ridge for the distance of fifteen miles, in a line at right angles to my course; putting back, as I went along, with a stick, the weeds which I had bended, lest I should be tracked by the enemy. I lay the next night on the waters of Muskingum: the nettles had been troublesome to me after my crossing the Sciota, having nothing to defend myself but the piece of a rug which I had found, and which while I rode I used under me by way of saddle. The briars and thorns were now painful to and prevented me from travelling in the night until the moon appeared: in the mean time I was hindered from sleeping by the musketoes; for even in the day I was under the necessity of travelling with a 144 handful of bushes to brush them from my body.

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“The second night I reached Cushakim; next day came to Newcomer's town, where I got about seven rasberries, which were the first thing I ate from the morning in which the Indians had taken me to burn me until this time, which was now about three o'clock the fourth day. I felt hunger very little, but was extremely weak: I swam Muskingum river at Oldcomer's town, the river being about two hundred yards wide.—Having reached the bank, I sat down, looked back; and thought I had a start of the Indians, if any should pursue. That evening I travelled about five miles; next day came to Stillwater, a small river, in a branch of which I got two small cray-fish to eat. Next night I lay within five miles of Wheeling; but had not slept a wink during this whole time, being rendered impossible by the musketoes, which it was my constant employment to brush away. Next day came to Wheeling, and saw a man on the island in 145 the Ohio, opposite to that post, and calling to him, and asking for particular persons who had been on the expedition, and telling him I was Slover, at length, with great difficulty, he was persuaded to come over, and bring me across in his canoe.”

To shew more particularly how dangerous it is to live in the back settlements, I shall add the following narrative of the captivity and escape of Mrs. Frances Scott, an inhabitant of Washington county, Virginia.

“On Wednesday the 29th day of June, 1785, late in the evening, a large company of armed men passed the house, on their way to Kentucky, some part of whom encamped within two miles. Mr. Scott, living on a frontier part, generally made the family watchful; but on this calamitous day, after so large a body of men had passed, shortly after night, he lay down in his bed, and imprudently left one of the doors of his house open: the children were also in bed, and asleep. Mrs. Scott was nearly undressed, when, to her unutterable astonishment L 146 and horror, she saw, rushing in through the door that was left open, painted savages, with presented arms, raising a hideous shriek.—Mr. Scott, being awake, instantly jumped out of his bed, but was immediately fired at: he forced his way through the middle of the enemy and got out of the door, but fell a few paces from thence. An Indian

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seized Mrs. Scott, and ordered her to a particular spot, and not to move; others stabbed and cut the throats of the three youngest children in their bed, and afterwards lifted them up and dashed them down on the floor, near the mother; the eldest, a beautiful girl of eight years old, awoke and escaped out of the bed, and ran to her parent, and, with the most plaintive accents, cried, 'Oh, mamma! mamma! save me!'—The mother, in the deepest anguish of spirit, and with a flood of tears, entreated the savages to spare her child; but, with a brutal fierceness, they tomahawked and stabbed her in the mother's arms. Adjacent to Mr. Scott's dwelling-house another family lived, of the name of Ball.—The Indians also attacked their house at the same instant they entered Mr. Scott's; but, the door being shut, the enemy fired through an opening between two logs, and killed a young lad, and then essayed to force the door open; but a surviving brother fired through the door, and the enemy desisted, and went off: the remaining part of the family ran out of the house and escaped. In Mr. Scott's house were four good rifles well loaded, and a good deal of clothing and furniture, part of which belonged to people that had left it on their way to Kentucky. The Indians loaded themselves with the plunder, being thirteen in number, then speedily made off, and continued travelling all night: next morning their chief allotted to each man his share, and detached nine of the party to steal horses from the inhabitants on Clinch. The eleventh day after Mrs. Scott's captivity, the four Indians that had her in charge stopped, at a place fixed upon for a rendezvous and to hunt, being now in great want of provisions. Three went out, and the chief, being an old man, was left to take care of the prisoner, who by this time expressed a willingness to proceed to the Indian towns, which seemed to have the desired effect of lessening her keeper's vigilance. In the day-time, as the old man was graining a deer-skin, the captive pondering on her situation, and anxiously looking for an opportunity to make her escape, took the resolution, and went to the Indian carelessly, asked liberty to go a small distance to a stream of water, to wash the blood off her apron, that had remained besmeared since the fatal night of the murder of her little daughter. He told her, in the English tongue, 'Go along!' She then passed by him, his face being in a contrary direction from that she was going, and he very busy. She, after getting to the water, proceeded on without delay, made to a high

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barren mountain, and travelled until late in the evening, when she came down into the valley, in search of the track she had been 149 taken along; hoping thereby to find the way back, without the risk of being lost, and perishing with hunger, in uninhabited parts. On coming across the valley to the river-side, supposed to be the easterly branch of Kentucky river, she observed in the sand, tracks of two men, that had gone up the river and had just returned. She concluded these to have been her pursuers, which excited emotions of gratitude and thankfulness to Divine Providence for so fortunate a deliverance. Being without any provisions, having no kind of weapon or tool to assist her in getting any, and being almost destitute of clothing; also knowing that a vast tract of rugged high mountains intervened between where she was and the inhabitants eastwardly, and the distance of the Kentucky settlements unknown, and she almost as ignorant as a child of the method of steering through the woods; excited painful sensations. But certain death, either by hunger or wild beasts, seemed preferable rather than to be in the 150 power of beings who had excited in her mind such horror. She addressed Heaven for protection, and, taking courage, proceeded onward. After travelling three days, she had nearly met with the Indians, as she supposed, that had been sent to Clinch to steal horses; but, providentially hearing their approach, concealed herself among the cane, until the enemy had passed. —This giving a fresh alarm, and her mind being filled with consternation, she got lost, proceeding backwards and forwards for several days: at length she reached a river, that seemed to come from the east; concluding it was Sandy river, she accordingly resolved to trace it to its source, which is adjacent to the Clinch settlement. After proceeding up the same several days, she came to where the river runs through the great Laurel mountain, where is a prodigious water-fall, and numerous high craggy cliffs along the water edge; that way seemed impassable—the mountain steep and difficult: however, our mournful traveller concluded 151 that the latter way was the best. She therefore ascended for some time; but, coming to a range of inaccessible rocks, she turned her course towards the foot of the mountain and the river-side: after getting into a deep gulley, and passing over several high steep rocks, she reached the river-side; where, to her inexpressible affliction, she found that a perpendicular rock, or rather one that hung over, of fifteen or twenty feet

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high, formed the bank. Here a solemn pause took place: she essayed to return, but the height of the steeps and rocks she had descended over prevented her. She then returned to the edge of the precipice, and viewed the bottom of it, as the certain spot to end all her troubles, or remain on the top to pine away with hunger, or be devoured by wild beasts. After serious meditation and devout exercises, she determined on leaping from the height, and accordingly jumped off. Although the place she had to alight on was covered with uneven rocks, not a bone was broken; but, 152 being exceedingly stunned with the fall, she remained unable to proceed for some space of time. The dry season caused the river to be shallow—she travelled in it, and, where she could, by its edge, until she got through the mountain, which she concluded was several miles. After this, as she was travelling along the bank of the river, a venomous snake bit her on the ankle: she had strength to kill it, and, knowing its kind, concluded that death must soon overtake her. By this time Mrs. Scott was reduced to a mere skeleton with fatigue, hunger, and grief; probably this state of her body was the means of preserving her from the effects of the poison: be that as it may, so it was, that very little pain succeeded the bite, and what little swelling there was it fell into her feet. Our wanderer now left the river; and, after proceeding a good distance, she came to where the valley parted into two, each leading a different course.—Here a painful suspense again took place: a forlorn creature, almost exhausted, and 153 certain, if she was far led out of the way, she would never see a human creature.— During this soliloquy, a beautiful bird passed close by her, fluttering along the ground, and went out of sight up one of the valleys. This drew her attention, and (whilst considering what it might mean) another bird of the same appearance in like manner fluttered past her, and took the same valley the other had done. This determined her choice of the way; and in two days, which was on the 11th day of August, she reached that settlement on Clinch called New-Garden; whereas (she is since informed by woodmen) had she taken the other valley, it would have led her back towards the Ohio. Mrs. Scott relates, that the Indians told her, that the party was composed of four different nations, two of whom she thinks they named Delawares and Mingoes.

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“She further relates, that during her wandering, from the 10th of July to the 11th of August, she had no other subsistence but 154 chewing and swallowing the juice of young cane stalks, sassafras leaves, and some other plants she did not know the names of: that, on her journey, she saw buffaloes, elks, deer, and frequently bears and wolves; not one of which, although some passed very near her, offered to do her the least harm. One day a bear came near her, with a young fawn in his mouth; and, on discovering her, he dropped his prey and ran off. Hunger prompted her to go and take the flesh and eat it: but, on reflection, she desisted, thinking that the bear might return and devour her; besides, she had an aversion to taste raw flesh.—Mrs. Scott continues in a low state of health, and remains inconsolable for the loss of her family, particularly bewailing the cruel death of her little daughter.”

As an apology for having introduced the foregoing narratives, it may be right to say, I did it by way of proving how dangerous it is for the emigrant to venture far into the country. But, although the Indians 155 commit such cruelties on their invaders, it is the general opinion of the Americans that they are not a bad sort of people:— just in their dealings, they seldom do those things without a cause, and are seldom known to break their word. When the British governed America, they used not to take the land without first treating with the Indians and paying them for it, as may be remarked in the Life Of General Washington; who was employed by the British to go up into the country to treat with the Indians. He observes—

“They called the British their fathers, and said they were ready to treat with him, as the British never took their land without paying them for it: but the French did not do so;—they took their land from them and called it their own, and paid them nothing for it.” Now the Indians think themselves entitled to the land; saying the Great Man (as they call him— by which they mean God) planted them there, and gave them the lands for their support. It is 156 acknowledged by the Americans that they are expert in war and a dangerous enemy. It must be observed, that General Washington's hostilities with the Indians were

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of essential use to him during the American war: he fought the English as the Indians had fought him when he was in British service—by what is termed bush-fighting.

During my stay at Philadelphia I was introduced to General Hambleton, near Philadelphia, who has got a most elegant house.—As I was walking back I overtook a waggon with five horses; they appeared very much fatigued. I entered into conversation with the man. He told me he had come three hundred and fifty miles to Philadelphia market. I asked him what he had got to sell: he said, nine barrels of wheat-flour, and two bucks. At that time flour was sold at about seven dollars a barrel, and the two bucks were worth seven or eight dollars each; which together amount to twenty-eight pounds seventeen shillings 157 and six pence. At thirty miles a day, the length of the journey is twenty-three days; which will give twenty-four shillings and nine pence for each day; and I am of an opinion, twenty miles a day is as much as a team can go on these roads. He must get more by his back carriage than by what he brings for his produce of this land and the carrying it to market; or he has a bad trade; but I do not believe he does.

I was invited to dine with an English gentleman named Davy, from Manchester. At German-Town he had got a printing manufactory of cottons. This gentleman was a merchant, and had large concerns in Philadelphia; he had brought his people from Manchester. He shewed us some goods, I believe equal to those of Manchester: but the weather was so frosty, that the cottons were all frozen in the pans; and the people employed in this business, I suppose, would require the same pay as if they had been working, though now doing nothing.—I spent a very pleasant day. 158 There were some other English gentlemen: and among them a Doctor Jordine (a very sensible and genteel man) and a Mr. Porter.

—These two gentlemen went from Wales: they had purchased an estate somewhere on the Delaware; they called it rich lands; and they have endeavoured, I am persuaded, to make it answer, as much as the power of man could do; but I have had the pleasure of the

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Doctor's company since; and he is very weary of farming, and wants to sell the estate and come back to England.

—There was a Doctor Logan in company. I went home with this gentleman. He is a member of assembly at Lancaster; and has got a good estate near German-Town, on which he and his family have been settled a number of years. He asked me to get him an English servant. I told him an English servant would be of no use to him: as was the truth; for the cultivation varies so much that the English servants are quite lost in America. It is generally thought by the Americans that the cause of their crops 159 being not so productive as the crops in England, is want of management: but they are highly mistaken; it is their soil and climate—and nothing will make them so productive.

After seeing the Doctor's meadows* , horses, and cattle, I returned to Philadelphia: and in a few days set off for Baltimore. In my way I now viewed the grazing-farm of Mr. Holmes, which had been the original object of my present long journey; but to my great surprise I found not a green herb or plant upon it. This was in the latter end of March. There was some dead grass, as white as stubble; what is called crab-grass: it chiefly springs up in the month of July, and August, and will eat pretty well when young, but will not make hay. The roots die every winter, and it grows up fresh every summer from the seed. About July or August they have another grass, something like it, they call fox-tail; which is good for nothing at any

* They were irrigated.

160 time. This farm was in a distressed state, and I did not like it.

On reaching Baltimore, I engaged for the farm at Orange-Hill, of three hundred acres, for three hundred pounds per year currency. This farm was three miles from Baltimore. There were only two hundred acres of cleared land; the remainder for fire and fences. I do not think that in any part of England such poor land would let for half the sum; indeed, I do not suppose it would let at all: but I know no such land here; for our land generally grows

something. I then went to Mount-Vernon, and told General Washington what I had seen; sold my cattle, horses, hogs, &c. (General Sprigg becoming a great purchaser of cattle and hogs, which he values much;) and brought my family to Orange-Hill,—when I began my farming.

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SECTION II. *The regular Proceedings on the Farm for seven Months.*

On the first of May 1799 I entered upon my farm at Orange-Hill, three miles from Baltimore. I will explain why I gave so great a rent for this, after having had all the offers which I have mentioned.

I thought nothing in the farming-line likely to be profitable, except the selling of milk, and what in that country is called truck,—which is garden produce, fruits, &c.; finding labour so very dear, and scarcely to be had at all, except by the keeping of slaves, which I did not like. The price of milk being from six pence to eight pence per quart, seemed to me sure of paying well; and as linseed-cake was not in general use, and was to be bought cheap, this too was a great advantage. I could M 162 buy one hundred and four cakes for fifteen shillings, the cakes weighing two pounds each: thus this was cheap compared with other food; and the cakes are very good in quality, not being so much pressed as they are in England, but they do not keep so well. My expectations so far were fully answered. But I found great trouble in this business: for in the two years that I followed it I could never meet with any servant that would milk properly, therefore we were obliged to milk the cows and sell the milk ourselves, as well as feed the cows and do greatest part of the farming work.

The custom in the towns is, to rise very early; the weather being so hot in summer that the morning is the only time when one can draw breath with pleasure. We were thus compelled in summer to rise at two o'clock to milk, and to be in town before the sun was up; otherwise we should find the breakfast over—and the milk would frequently be sour by

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twelve o'clock in the day, There were also a number of Frenchmen 163 men in Baltimore, who generally boil the milk before they use it; but it would boil to whey and curds if it was not delivered betimes in the morning. In winter we rose at four o'clock, and were in town by break of day; and by such care and assiduity, and milking our cows regularly and well, we got the best of custom, and our milk became esteemed more than any other.—This was a very good business, compared with any other thing to be done in farming in America. —During the whole two years I seldom met with a man or woman who would lend any assistance to us so early in the morning; nor do I think it possible to hire people to do what we did ourselves.

My first work on the farm was to dress the meadows; which were called fine; though the greater part of them in England would not have been thought worthy of being called meadow at all, being over-run with briars and weeds of different description. Their state indeed was such, that when I mowed them, I sometimes in M 2 164 making the hay did not know whether it was worth putting together, or not, expecting that it would not be sold; but, contrary to my supposition, it was readily bought by the stable-keepers at nine pounds per ton. It was, however, a dry summer; and this is not the usual price: five pounds being about the average, one year with another, at Baltimore; at Philadelphia and New-York not so much. The twenty-six acres cut fourteen tons of hay, which brought me one hundred and twenty-six pounds, while the cakes for the cows (a much better feed) cost me only seventy-eight pounds fifteen shillings. They milked very well on that sort of food, with the addition of Indian corn, blades, stalks, corn, and cobbs, all chopped up together; but very little of this mixture served with the cakes. The milk was much liked; and the greater part of the cows got fat, and were sold to the butchers. This was the first thing of the kind done in America, and very much surprised many gentlemen of my acquaintance; and 165 the linseed-cakes began to be much searched after before I left that country. I have been told that there have been many tons of those cakes thrown away as good for no purpose whatever; and so little was their use known there, that when we had them in the waggon the people asked if we ate them ourselves.

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The next business in the farm, after cleaning and dressing the meadows, was to plant Indian corn. This is usually done in the first week of May, but mine was so late as the last week; for I was near two months getting a plough made, therefore I hired for the listing (as they call it). I put-in my corn in drills, and harrowed the seed in and it did very well; which so much amazed all who saw me, that you would imagine there was some charm in their old method of setting it by the hoe. I found drilling to be the best and cleanest way, and my corn prospered and grew very well; beyond the expectation of any farmers there, and much contrary to their 166 wishes—for as I had published a Treatise on Agriculture, the lower class of people seemed to have a desire that nothing I did should succeed; and from my opinion of the land I was much afraid their wishes would be gratified. And having never cultivated such poor land before, nor raised Indian corn, I had little idea what the soil would do. I had thus only one encouragement; which was, that other people's land was as bad as mine, and some a great deal worse.

We still remained, during all this time, without any one to assist us, except the hiring for the ploughing. We had the corn to plant, and the cows to mind, and every thing to do:—and to put us in spirits, now and then an Englishman would come and tell us a most lamentable story of what sufferings he had undergone, that he had been cheated out of his money, and how poor the land was, with all sorts of murmurings; constantly ending by asking my wife and family how they liked America? to which 167 the answer “Not at all” was returned very quickly. It is impossible to express what a man feels in such a situation. I remember one Englishman, after repeating all the things that could fill a stranger's mind with trouble and horror, said with a very heavy sigh as he was going out of the house, “It is the devil's own country to be sure!” Among other things, he had told us of the thunder and lightning, &c.; and some few days after, we had a specimen of this, for such a dreadful scene I had never beheld—it thundered and lightened, blew and rained in such a manner as to swim a great part of our corn out of the drills, and to seem as if there was going to be an end of the world. Such behaviour is meant as friendship by these Englishmen; though it is very uncomfortable to hear: and this I had to suffer every day of my life, and

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sometimes two or three times a day. Besides all this, the lower sort of Americans (who dislike an Englishman as much as it is possible for one man to dislike another) continually contrive to insult him, by any unpleasant expression they can make use of; and their conduct in this respect may in some measure be accounted for, from the better sort of people, in common conversation, always saying,—if any thing is done better than usual in the management of land, (as, ploughing in a proper manner, &c.) or a fine horse or cow is seen—“It is like the English:” and that such preference is constantly given to the English, disgusts them much. If a man hears himself and his country abused in foreign countries, as I continually heard England and its inhabitants abused in America, he must feel himself uncomfortable; the general character I heard given to them in conversation when I was not known (so that it might not be particularly offensive to me) is, that the English are a set of plunderers, who rob all nations for their riches, and could not exist if they were not continually at war—that the nation is ruined, and owes a debt it never can pay, &c.

After my sons, and myself, had hoed the corn, I began to look out for a piece of land for sowing turnips, which appeared to me likely to be very profitable; for I was told that they were to be sold at one dollar per bushel, and though I did not myself know how many bushels an acre would produce, it was generally stated in conversation at one thousand bushels. I thought this must be a ready way to get rich: but, like all other American calculations, I have found it to be erroneous; for the last year I had a very good crop, yet it only produced three hundred and sixty bushels, and, the average price being then three shillings a bushel, it was one of the most profitable crops I experienced in that country. I believe, however, it would not be possible for a man to sell the produce of more than three acres in one season, and in one city or town; but even this is a very handsome profit (one hundred and sixty-two pounds) for so small a spot of ground. In that case he must have two men and two horses employed every day for about two months (at an expence of about thirteen pounds ten shillings) for selling them.

Now how to get my land prepared for my turnips I did not know as I could not meet with any man as a servant or labourer to do any thing, especially to plough; but with some

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difficulty I hired a man to come to plough with his own horses, at three dollars a day, which was at the rate of a dollar for a quarter of an acre, and I was obliged to consider it as a very great favour that I got it done at all. Myself and my two sons had previously scraped up all the dung we could, and mixed it with earth for a compost for these turnips: this we had done immediately after the gusts of rain, which always prevented us from hoeing the corn, for they make the land so soft that we could not walk across it for a day or two without sinking as deep as the plough had gone, or deeper. Though I had not myself ploughed for some years, I was compelled now to begin again to land the corn; I holding the plough, while one 171 of my sons led the horse betwixt the rows, and my other son harrowed after us, with a small harrow made for that purpose. By this process, though contrary to the general custom of the country, we raised a very fine crop of corn. When the man had ploughed three acres of the turnip land, I had got harrows made; therefore we harrowed it ourselves with our own horses. I then wanted a roller; which I was lucky enough to borrow, from a gentleman of the name of Bowley, who lived within one mile and a half of us, and with whom I had the honour of an acquaintance, and found him very neighbourly on every occasion; so we got our land in such fine order as was not usual in America. We then employed ourselves in picking up the refuse stuff by raking the land over with rakes, and burnt it; as it was not yet a proper time to sow turnips: the 10th of August being the time to a day, in that country; for few men sow above an acre, and many only a rood, therefore they are soon sown.

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Buck-wheat being a crop very much spoken of, I set off to plough three acres and a half for that purpose. The weather was very hot, and the land dry; so that I found it stiff work. I completed the ploughing, however, and my sons harrowed it, and by these means we got the buck-wheat sown.—As soon as this was done, it was time to sow turnips. I then began with my sons to drill the land, lead manure, and put in the seed. We could, with very hard work, sow only twenty drills a day; which took five cart-loads of manure, besides having the drills to make, the seed to sow and harrow in, and even all the water to draw out of a

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well for our cows and horses twice a day:—for there was no water on the farm but in the well close to the house, so that we had at all times between twenty and thirty head of cattle to fetch out of different pastures and water there.—These employments brought us to the time for mowing our hay.

I had forgot to mention that we had cocked ten acres of clover and leaded it, 173 among other things, before; and had the good luck to meet with a man to mow it, who gave me a promise (of his own accord) to mow the meadow and bring a partner along with him. His wages were a dollar a day, with his meat and a pint of whisky. He mowed nearly an acre, on some days; on the average, about three roods. He having asked for this second job as a favour, and that I would not engage any one else, and the time being appointed, &c. I made myself easy as to getting the meadow mowed; but I never saw him again.—When the time came, I began to enquire for mowers. First one set came and took it to do, and then another; and I found there were a set of people who had made it their business to persuade the men who undertook it, to disappoint me. The deuce a one ever came to begin to mow! and I began to think that I must mow it myself, or else lose the hay,—which was the only thing of any real value on the farm. At last, with a great deal of trouble and vexation, I got it mowed with 174 many fresh men, and my sons and myself cocked the hay, and stacked it—and some rare sweats we had! The turnips were ready to hoe at the same time, so that we were pretty full-handed; and it was the general talk that we should kill ourselves; and I really think never three people worked so hard in the world for the length of time, and especially in such a climate.

The turnips grew beyond any thing I could expect, and particularly four rows which I did with some plaster of Paris. Having, at the time when I entered, sown a part of the clover also with plaster of Paris, according to Judge Peters' direction, and by way of experiment left some *lands* without any, the plaster answered no good purpose, nor made any other difference than that this part of the clover was of a much finer green, so that one might perceive to an inch how far it went, but I do not think I had a pound of hay more where it was sown than where it was not sown.—On the turnips, however, it amazed me.

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Seeing this, I 175 got a bushel of plaster for some other part of the turnips, and sowed it on a square near to the road; when in twenty-four hours I could discern the crop to be of a much deeper green, and in forty-eight hours so much so that any spectator would have supposed the land on which these turnips grew to be of superior quality. I then sowed another bushel of it on two rows, and missed two rows: the turnips grew to a much greater size where the plaster of Paris was put, than in the rest of the field, in the increased proportion of about two to one in weight where the first two bushels were applied, and about three to two where the last bushel, besides being much juicier and a better kind.

Having got our hay stacked, turnips hoed, &c. the peaches began to be ripe, and we wanted a purchaser for them. My sons and myself set to work to pull them, and we were fortunate enough to find a black fellow (who had been one of my mowers) to sell them—this being an employment 176 which they like, *viz.* riding to market in a cart, drinking whisky, and cheating you out of part of the money they get for the *truck*. He sold as many peaches for us as came to seventeen pounds, at (on the average) four pence per peck: there would have been little profit upon them if we had hired men to pull them.

As soon as this business was over, the corn began to be ready to be topped and pulled, and the turnips for taking to market; so we kept our black fellow to be our market-man. We had turnips to get ready for market, and the corn to cut, the remaining part of the day. I ventured to cut it up by the roots, and set it up in shocks. This process, the inhabitants told me, would spoil all the corn, both blades and tops; but as I wanted it chiefly for the cows, I was of a different opinion, which proved to be right. For, having invented a machine for cutting up the stalks, blades, husks, and corn, altogether, it thus made most excellent feed for cows and not bad for horses: but it did not 177 answer with the pigs, as they will not eat mouldy corn at all, but cows like it better. Had I remained in that country, I should have continued to cut corn for cattle in the same manner, the cows preferring soft corn to the hard; and there was besides less waste in that method than any other. The machine for cutting is the best I ever saw, and I shall endeavour to get one made on a similar

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construction here: with the assistance of a person to fill the box, I could cut enough of that sort of food in two hours to serve twenty-seven head of horses and cows for twenty-four hours.

About this time, which was in September, four of my family were taken with the yellow fever; so that myself and one of my sons, for about fourteen days, had all the work to do; and to churn, cook our own victuals, and the family to nurse besides—a very distressing situation! The sick part of the family were light-headed, and I discovered my wife to have a great desire to come to England again; and I thought that N 178 (should God spare them) I would return as soon as I possibly could: but at that time I had not the least notion that it was the yellow fever, or I should have been more alarmed. I was myself their doctor; and the remedy I chiefly used was red port, of which I gave them plenty. The way in which they caught the infection was by suffering a gentleman to put a trunk in the passage of our house:—for the fever then raging very bad at Philadelphia, the mayor of Baltimore ordered all communication to be stopped at the distance of three miles from the city, which was just at the spot where we lived:—and the gentleman opening his trunk in the passage, while the children stood looking at him, the next day one of them was taken with the disorder. It is a sleepy complaint, so much so, that the persons afflicted can scarcely be kept awake; therefore my wife desired the child, a girl about nine years of age, to walk in the air: she walked towards a patch of turnips, where she lay down, and fell asleep among them; and had not her 179 elder brother perceived which way she went, in all probability she would have lost her life; for it being then in the evening, and the turnip-tops very high, we should never have found her, which is often the case in this disorder. By God's mercy, however, they all recovered in about fourteen days; but it reduced my wife so much that she never got her strength again while she continued in the country; which caused her to have a very unhappy time of it.

Luckily an Irishman came to ask for work, who had a wife; and we got her into the house: and though the drunkenest woman I ever saw, she proved useful to us. She would rise in the morning to help to milk, and wash the clothes, and wash dishes at times, when sober;

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but she would be drunk for a day or two together. Before that time we had done every thing in ourselves; and afterwards tried several others, but never could find one of any use at all, except this drunken woman, therefore we kept her about twelve months. The man soon brought another Irishman, a very bad fellow; N 2 180 but having our Indian corn and the buck-wheat to get-in, the turnips to send to market, and the fruit of a large apple-orchard to pick, &c. we were glad to keep them, bad as they were. I hired a man and his son, and their team of horses; and with my own waggon and horses we got our Indian corn harvested, buck-wheat in, apples picked, &c. We manured the buck-wheat land, and sowed it with rye; and tried plaster of Paris to dust it with (as lime) when wet, before sowing, but to no effect.

About this time I bought sixteen cows: thinking our black fellow would do very Well for selling the milk; as we could measure it, and he then could not cheat us. But in this I was very much disappointed: for he had so many tricks in mixing water with the milk, &c. that I was obliged to discharge him from that employment.—I then put the Irishman to sell the milk: and he did this very well for fourteen days; for having been a watchman in the city, he knew every street and house in it, and proved a very useful fellow. At the end 181 of fourteen days, however, he informed me that it was necessary for him to receive his money from the customers weekly: for his trade increasing, it prevented him from selling so much milk as he might do; saying, once a-week he could return round during the day and collect the money. I readily agreed to this; but when we came to settle in fourteen days afterwards, he was nine pounds in my debt, and unable to give me any account of this deficiency: having seen him continually drunk, I easily guessed what had become of the money; which, however, he honestly worked out.—By this time the black fellow and the Irishman nearly killed one of my horses, which had almost frustrated this project of selling milk; but knowing that nothing else would answer, I put my youngest son to this employment, and he performed it wonderfully well. The cows now increased so much in their milk, by eating cakes, that we had more than he could easily sell; therefore, my other son joined his brother. I bought two sulkies, and fixed the milk-churns behind: and then

we 182 did famously, and had plenty of money from our milk business, and increased our number of cows to twenty.

I bought nineteen ewes and a tup, to try how sheep would answer. They were very expensive in wintering; for they wanted food in the same way as horses or cows for near four months, and a house to run into at night. They cost me thirteen shillings and six pence each: and I sold twelve of the ewes at twenty-one shillings each after they had reared their lambs; the lambs sold at nineteen shillings each: the remainder of the ewes at nineteen shillings each. Their wool I sold at three shillings per pound to more than twenty customers. They paid on the whole very well.—I discovered among these sheep some of the small-tailed kind, and found them to be more inclined to fatten than many of the others; but at that time I had not the least idea of what they descended from, not having seen in England any thing like them, except the Dishley sheep. These sheep came from Holland.

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SECTION III. *The second Tour, for three Months.*

I had now the two Irishmen—the one to take care of the cows and the other to chop wood; and the old woman to help my two sons and daughter to milk, and my eldest son to prepare the horses and sulkies, &c.

All things, therefore, being in a settled state, I set off for Philadelphia, where I had agreed with a printer to print one thousand copies of my Experienced Farmer; and as the first volume was finished, I thought I would deliver that, and gather the money.

In my way to Philadelphia, I called on a gentleman of the name of Doctor Tilton, at Wilmington; a very worthy and respectable man: he made me promise to stop a day with him in my return. At Philadelphia I was very pleasantly received by my 184 old acquaintances, and particularly by Mr. Boadley, the author of the Sketches, with whose

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company I was much gratified. I proceeded in delivering the books, and got my money cheerfully paid; and every thing went on well.

After some days I set off for New-York; and in my way stopped at Brunswick, with General White, Judge Patterson, and Mr. Garnett, an English gentleman. I made a promise to spend a few days with them on my return. I was very kindly received at New-York; and delivered my books, and collected the money. While there, I met a gentleman named Miles Smith, who married Sir Digby Ledger's sister (an English lady); he gave me a very kind invitation to go to see him at Brunswick in my return. During my stay also at New-York, Mr. Garnett introduced me to General Gates; who had just imported some cattle from Holland, which were very tolerable.

Having finished my business at New-York, I returned to Brunswick, to see all 185 my friends there. Mr. Smith had got some imported rabbits of the warren kind, from England, with an intention to make a warren; but this will not answer in any part of America that I have seen, for the following reasons:—First, There is no sod to make banks; therefore the fence must be all paled to keep them in, which is an enormous expence. Secondly, There being no sod, they cannot burrow; for if they were to scratch holes as they do in England, the frost in the winter and the rain in summer would break down all the earth upon them. As a proof of this, even the fox has no burrow in America: they get into hollow trees; and the sportsmen are obliged to buy the foxes at five or six dollars each, to hunt, from men who catch them for that purpose,—as they seldom or never lie in cover as they do in England. The rabbits will not answer, for a further reason: there being very little or no grass for them in the summer, and the winter is so severe they would not pay for the food they would eat. The first winter 186 I was there, they would have wanted support from the end of December to the beginning of April had they been in England in such weather. The fur of the American rabbit is of little value; the skin is so thin that you can scarcely get it off without breaking or tearing it: they sell for two pence each. A rabbit-warren was one

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of my great projects when I went into America, could it have been established with any probability of success.

I spent some agreeable time with Mr. and Mrs. Smith (who is a very sensible lady). I saw there some other English ladies; particularly a Mrs. Vernon, whose complaints were very heavy against America. I then set off to Philadelphia; and spent a few days with my friends, Mr. Warder, Mr. Boadley, and Mr. Whitesides, at German-Town, six miles from that city. From Philadelphia I went to Wilmington, on a visit to Dr. Tilton; having with me books, and a subscription-paper. In this last I saw the name of John Mills, whom Dr. Tilton said 187 that he knew very well, and that when breakfast was over we would have our horses and ride to his house—it being in the way to the Doctor's farm, which he proposed shewing me. I thought Wilmington one of the prettiest situations I had seen in America, and it looked like good land; but when I came to view it, it was little better than the rest of the country. After seeing the Doctor's farm we called on Mr. John Mills; who is a Scotchman, and a man of good sense: but when I opened my business to him, he said he was not the subscriber; it was his son who was then in the West-Indies:—therefore we parted, and I dined with the Doctor.

Very unexpectedly, I received an invitation to go to see Mr. Mills; and was highly entertained and very hospitably received by him: for, being travelling in the stage-coaches, I was disappointed of a conveyance, and thus stayed there two days and nights. During that time I viewed his farm; which was reckoned good land, but I found it poorer than I expected. He told me how 188 he had lost his money, and in very large sums. He said that at the last meeting which he attended, expecting some money he had let out on interest, he grew angry, and told them—“They were a set of d—d rogues! but what better could be expected from them? They, their fathers, or grandfathers, had all been sent there by the consent of *twelve honest men*, and the king had signed their warrant.” He said, he formerly lived in London; and having got together a large sum of money, he and another gentleman agreed to go to America to purchase lands, and expected thus to be equal to the Duke of Bedford in landed property: however, not liking the land when he got there,

he lent his money out on mortgage, at (as he thought) good interest and on good security; but he had been much disappointed in these respects, for there were frequently two or three claimants to the land, and such doings as had run him out of a good property. Mrs. Mills too had most dismal stories to tell in regard to the women-servants.—They had 189 then begun to sell milk; but he being totally unaccustomed to cows, I knew that would not answer his end. He had agreed with an Englishman that had been sent over by Mr. Bullock, with Punch, the famous race-horse bought by the Prince of Wales of Lord Egremont—(race-horsemen are seldom proper to manage cows!)—to do the business of the farm, milk the cows, and sell the milk, &c. on condition of allowing him half of what the milk sold for. I have seen him since, and he told me this was not likely to answer: the man had got in his debt, and was endeavouring to cheat him. Mr. Mills said, “his son Jack was such a proud fool that he would not go back to England; or else he was himself determined to go to the country where he knew how to get money and keep it; but in America he could do neither—for (said he) how was it possible to get money when there was none?”

Having spent two days with Mr. Mills, I got a place in the coach, and returned to Orange-Hill.

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SECTION IV. *The regular Proceedings on the Farm.*

I found the cows much improved, and my stock increased: the ewes having lambed; and the imported sow I bought, pigged:—and all was very well in the farm. The cows had grown what is considered fat in America, on the oil-cakes. It was time to sow oats, timothy-seed, plant early potatoes, &c.; so I set to work again.

I set half an acre of early potatoes, in drills eighteen inches asunder, with some compost made from the last year's manure; and a very good crop they proved, at the rate of three hundred and sixty bushels per acre when full-grown.

Having ploughed the land that was in corn the year before, I next sowed seventeen acres of oats and six acres of barley. It is usual to sow one bushel of barley, oats, 191 &c. per acre; and I was told by an Irishman, my neighbour, that if I sowed more I should reap neither straw nor corn, for he had tried it repeatedly. It therefore required no experiment on that head; nor was I inclined to make one, knowing that poor land requires little seed: but as I am fond of experiments, and I must be doing something new, I got five bushels of barley, and sowed it with one bushel per acre on five acres of the field which had borne the year before as fine Indian corn as I ever saw in the country—though I expected not to be paid for my trouble; but I had never experienced one bushel of barley per acre, nor had I the least thought how land could be regularly covered to bear so small a produce. The land appeared in as fine order as could be, for barley; and I chose, in different parts of the field, the very best of it. It proved, too, a very fine time for sowing the oats and barley, with rains proper for its coming out of the ground; nor did I ever see barley look better when it came up; and 192 the land being sown with timothy, it altogether made a most beautiful appearance.

One acre also of the land which I had manured, and had turnips on, the year before, I now sowed with barley and timothy, to see the difference, and to try what the manure would do. This looked as well as the other. Mr. Bowley, my neighbour, came to view the process; and acknowledged he never saw so good farming in the country: “But that,” he said, “availed nothing: the land was so poor, that without dung its produce was not worth the cultivation, and dung and labour it would not pay for.” This proved very true. I asked him how many oats I might expect an acre: he said he never had more than six bushels, and often not so many; but probably I might have more. As I cut them for the cows, (the straw and corn together,) I cannot tell what was the produce: I estimate it at four bushels per acre; which is nearly the average crop of the oats grown about Baltimore.

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My barley I thrashed out; and on the five acres where no manure had been put, I found that I had one bushel per acre, and of a much worse quality than the seed had been; so that, when all expences were paid, I lost about six dollars per acre: and the rent being also about six dollars per acre, the total loss upon these five acres would be sixty dollars, or twenty-two pounds ten shillings currency. Now by this crop it may be seen, how, when the English farmer strikes largely into farming in America, he may lose his money. The other acre of barley, which had been manured with compost, produced fourteen bushels, and of a much superior quality; being rather better than what I sowed. The land where the oats and bad barley grew was by much the best field in the farm, and was counted excellent land in that country.

The timothy, though it came up very fine, did not prosper equally with that sown in the fall of the year; but whether this was the nature of the climate or of the plant, I cannot say.—The rye we harvested; O 194 and when thrashed out, the produce was four bushels per acre, and in appearance as good a crop as any in the country.

After we had sown the oats, I prepared four acres and a half for winter potatoes in as correct a manner as was possible, and dunged with twelve thousand bushels of good dung of the cows and horses, made from linseed-cake, and Indian corn-stalks—blades and tops all chopped up together. This, however, I found to be of too hot a nature for that soil; so much so, as to cause some of the potatoe-tops to burn up and die. Had three loads of mould been put to each load of dung, I am of an opinion forty-eight thousand bushels of compost might have been made, which would have produced a much better crop of potatoes or any thing else, bushel for bushel, than the dung in the raw state. This quantity of compost would have covered eighteen acres of land; and I am certain that there, or in any other country, manure prepared in a proper manner by adding mould in the above proportion, (viz , 195 three loads of good earth to one load of dung,) thus bringing the whole to a sort of rich garden earth, would always produce better crops of any kind. This will be the case especially with turnips; which will thus pay more for labour than any thing I

know of, and be of very great utility to the community at large; and if so, it is desirable that it should be made generally known.

The produce of the potatoe crops was one hundred bushels to the acre, which sold at about three shillings and six pence per bushel. They were good in quality for America; but there are no potatoes equal in flavour in that country to the English, nor so mealy: and though some potatoes are sold there at seven shillings and six pence per bushel, I do not think a crop of potatoes in any market I saw in America will average more than three, shillings and six pence per bushel, nor even so much in Philadelphia or New-York. I heard a Scotchman, who was selling potatoes in Philadelphia market, say, that they did not O 2 196 sell for so much as they cost getting out of the ground. No money, therefore, will be got by that crop. I know a gentleman who, from correct accounts, lost two hundred and sixty dollars (which is seventy-seven pounds ten shillings currency) by eleven acres, short of paying for the planting and taking out of the ground: they were sold in Philadelphia market, and the produce had been great.

I forgot to mention that I planted, in the first week in May, about seventy acres of Indian corn in drills, and one acre of Indian corn in drills on the land which had borne turnips the year before, and which was very fine; at different distances, from three to six feet: but a better crop of Indian corn may be raised by planting at six feet as under and eighteen inches in the drills, than by any other mode I ever tried, if the land be rich. Upon very poor land I do not doubt that the hills may be superior; as by hoeing and ploughing there is rather more of the best earth added to the roots of the corn.

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SECTION V. *The third Tour to view the Wheat Crops and other Things, in June and July, in some well-cultivated Parts of America. Containing several Remarks on Fruit; on the Management of Soil; on reaping and harvesting of Wheat by the Cradle and Sickle, &c.*

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Having got the corn planted, the potatoes set, &c. I took a tour of about three hundred miles into what is termed the Eastern shore, which lies by the bay side, called the peninsula of Chesapeak, to view the crops of wheat; as that is a great wheat country. I had been told this is the best farming country in America: and I think it the best large tract of land I ever saw there; it being not so broken, or *gullied*, as all other parts are, though not quite free from that condition.

I went by way of Anapolis: where I saw some very beautiful Indian corn, intended for roasting ears; and, under it, cymplings, cucumbers, melons, &c. which made a most beautiful and luxurious appearance. This was in the month of June. In my way I visited Colonel Mercer, with whom I spent some very pleasant days. He was cradling and reaping his wheat; which he thought very fine, and in the best parts calculated to have fifteen bushels on an acre. It being the time at which the wheat is all nearly ripe, I had a very proper view of those crops, so as to form a very good idea of the produce; and I think there might be from four to five bushels per acre on an average. I rode out every day about the fields.

This country is called the West-River, being the opposite side of the bay. The first asparagus I ever saw grow by nature, was on the banks of that river, where it grows very fine; but pasture grass is scarcely to be seen in any part of that country, and very little or no artificial grass is raised. I do not recollect seeing a meadow in all my ride; the tops and the 199 blades of the Indian corn being the chief support of their cattle, horses, sheep, &c. during the winter, with the assistance of the wheat-straw.—Indeed Indian corn is the great dependence of every part of America, for both man and beast. It is a wonderful plant; and the produce of four hills (which is four thousand eight hundred corns, and yet not two quarts) will plant an acre the next season. It is the most beautiful crop when properly managed, that I ever saw; and will grow to a greater burthen on the poorest land, I am of opinion, than any other plant in the world. They talk of growing one hundred bushels per acre on the backwood lands; but that I do not believe, and it may easily be known. I shall

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give a description of it in some part of this work, and state the greatest produce that can be raised.

Having satisfied my curiosity at the West River, I set off to the Eastern shore; where I met with a most agreeable reception from Mr. John Singleton (an Englishman), a very well-informed man, and who has 200 tried many experiments. He took great pains to inform me of every thing that could be useful; as I intended to publish a supplement to the work I had printed at that time. He introduced me to many very respectable farmers: for that part of America is cultivated in a farming style; and if it was not so unhealthy, I would rather live there than any where else in America, at least of all that I saw. They are in general what may be termed real farmers; many of them growing from one to two hundred acres of wheat, and the like quantity of Indian corn. Their system of cultivation is this:—If the farm consists of four hundred acres, there are always two hundred lying to what they call resting (that is, without a crop) for two years; then they plant it with Indian corn, which is a preparation for wheat; and then it lies again two years to rest.—Mr. Singleton had three farms. On his home-farm he had above one hundred acres of wheat, from which, he informed me, he did not 201 expect more than one bushel per acre, From one of the others he expected about five bushels per acre. The third was chiefly rye: he said the soil was poor, and it would not bring wheat.

I here had a very good opportunity to see the Hessian fly, there being at that time hundreds of acres infected with that insect. This fly is said to destroy all the wheat in several parts of America; but I believe the poverty of the soil and the nature of the climate to be the greatest misfortunes. A great deal is said about the Americans not manuring their land. To be sure that is a cause of its poverty; but it is one which cannot be remedied. I suppose there is land in that country that has been sown with wheat every fourth year since it was cleared from timber, and never had any dung put upon it. There are no dunghills lying wasting, as in many parts of England; consequently the farmer must not bear the blame: the dung must have been applied to some part of the farm, and I apprehend the gardens to have had a greater 202 proportion of it than the fields. All the

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farmers there have large gardens; which did not seem very rich, but generally the contrary. I know, by the appearance of the soil, that the land when first cleared, never brought either much burthen or produce. From the information I had of Mr. Singleton, in the best parts it brought not more than fifteen bushels per acre: and the calculation is fifty pounds weight of straw to the bushel; that is, six hundred weight of straw to the acre of a good crop, on a bad crop only fifty pounds weight; therefore the average will not be more than three hundred weight per acre. When the Hessian fly did not destroy the wheat, and every thing was what they term prospering, from five to ten bushels per acre was the produce in the parts I am speaking of. The bulk of straw was always very small, compared with the straw produced on the lands in England: indeed, during all my riding in that country, I saw no wastes of any kind, like those in many parts of England: and 203 for a good reason; the crops are so light, both of straw and grain, that they have not much to waste.

The manner of reaping is cradling by the scythe: and I have heard a great deal said of the dexterity of that process; and the accounts are really astonishing. But the cause is that the crops are so thin and short, that many could not be reaped at all by any other means, except at more expence than they are worth. But where there is any thing like our crops in England, they cannot cradle at all, but are compelled to reap in the same manner as we do. There are always reapers as well as cradlers at the same time: and where there is any a little stronger wheat, it is cut with the sickle; and some whole fields are thus reaped: and the men are in general as good reapers as in most parts of England, and mowers too. It is said that a man will cradle five acres per day (I believe three acres are reckoned a day's work for a man): but the cause is not the dexterity of the 204 man, but the scanty crop he has to cradle. I mowed my oats and barley, having no cradles: they would not make a swath; therefore, in the straggled manner they fell, they cost as much time and labour in gathering as they were worth. I am of an opinion that many of the English waggons and waggoners would carry the produce of ten acres upon one waggon: and the reader may easily conceive this to be true; for where there is but one bushel per acre, it is only ten bushels of wheat on the waggon.

Now, from this sort of cropping, according to my calculation of making manure, it will take ten acres or more to make two loads of it: therefore one hundred acres give only twenty loads, which will only manure two acres of the hundred; so that, from such produce, it will be fifty years before the whole field could be got dunged. Then the Indian corn crop being much more bulky—and we will state one load of dung for one acre of corn—there would be more manure, supposing the corn-stalks were cut 205 up and used in the fold for manure, which is not generally done, but left in the field; which may be one cause of the Hessian fly: therefore, supposing the wheat crop to make twenty loads of dung, (which is more than any man's one hundred acres of wheat would do in the whole country,) and the hundred acres of Indian corn to yield one hundred loads, that is only one hundred and twenty loads of dung from the most correct process in each year: and I am of an opinion that many of them use fifty loads regularly in the garden; nor would the garden be worth any thing without such manuring; therefore there remain only seventy loads. Then they generally raise a few turnips, and some pumpkins, for which we may allow forty of those seventy loads: and there are but thirty loads of dung left to be applied to the four hundred acres of land per year. To allow ten loads to the acre, as we do in England all over the soil, the proportion of land manured would be three acres per year; so that it would be more than one hundred and 206 thirty-three years before the last part of the four hundred acres would receive any dung; and any man, who knows any thing of farming, must allow that, during so long a time, the crops will, on almost any land, become scanty.

I look upon this calculation to be as nearly correct as possible, and what has been done, and the only thing that it was in the power of man to do: and I have every reason to believe there is not any other part of America, by nature, of so good a quality as this land. Now it is to be observed that the Indian corn crop is very advantageous, as two hundred bushels of dung, or rather good compost (which is much better for corn than dung), would make an acre of very rich fine Indian corn, which is not more than four English cart-loads to each acre, as there can be but twelve hundred hills on an acre, and generally only one thousand hills; the hills being six feet asunder in general: and this management will raise a very

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good crop of corn: but that will not do for wheat, as there is but a very small proportion of the 207 field manured by that process—only here and there a bunch, which is very generally to be seen in the wheat crop in a very good farmer's field. Nor did I see any fault in the farming or the people: on the contrary, they are industrious and very attentive, indeed more so than in many other parts of the world where I have been. The fault is in the land, not in the people: and any man, who goes there to farm, will find that to be the case, and to his sorrow. I look upon the farmer in America to be like a man placed in a deep cistern, with water flowing in upon him, and a pump to work it out: he must either pump or be drowned: and they must either work or famish. It is observed by the Americans, that, if a man gets a plantation and six working negroes, he may maintain himself and a family: but, to say nothing of the disagreeableness of the climate, he cannot live comfortably from such means: for it does not appear to me, that, on such soil, a man can raise more than will maintain himself, 208 to live as Englishmen do. A negro has generally a numerous family: and as all men live from the ground, the negro's family must be maintained as well as the white man's family, although not at so great an expence. There are many reasons why no white man can do so much towards raising produce from the earth in a climate like that of America, as he could in England, or as a black man can in America; the black man being able to bear the heat much better than the white man. Besides, there are generally three months in a year, during which little can be done by any man, except feeding cattle and cutting wood; the frost being so very severe, as to prevent both plough and spade from penetrating into the soil; and there being no spring and autumn, but all winter and summer.—When the summer sets in, the spring crop must be got-in in a few days, or he had better never sow it at all. When I was with General Washington, he surprised me much by saying he should lose his oat 209 crop, by being so late with it; for it did not appear that there had been a space of more than six days from the breaking up of the frost to the time when I was with him. But I found that to be the case: for the hot weather comes on so quickly, that, if the spring grain do not get fairly out before the heat sets in, it will come to no good; and, at the best, the produce will be small; so that the cultivation of a farm in America is much more expensive than in England: and a man must have great

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force to do the business in so short a time. The case is the same with the harvest: for, when the grain begins to ripen, the sun is so intensely hot and the winds so much higher than generally in England, that, if it was not expeditiously harvested, they would shake it all out: and if a farmer has not people under his own immediate command to reap his harvest, he would be liable to lose some part of the crop; it not being possible to find men whom he can hire to do it. This is one cause why the American flour is P 210 fairer than the English flour. The Americans harvest the wheat in a much better manner than in England: they cut it greener, and put it up in general in large shocks about a cart-load in each; and it gets no sun after it is cut. The reason why they do this, is, that some of them have not barns; and the general practice is to tread out the grain by horses; therefore these shocks stand until a convenient time to tread it out, and will receive no damage from the rains. Their method is to set many sheaves at the bottom, and keep working them up to a small point at the top; and, from the shortness of the straw, the sheaves are very small: and some of them put a piece of rail in the middle, so that the last sheaf is stuck upon that, and lapped round the pole with a band made of hay or grass, in such a manner that no rain can penetrate into it, nor can the wind blow it from the top; and with a hand-rake they comb the cock of sheaves carefully down. This is by far the best 211 method of securing wheat in the field that I ever saw, and causes the wheat to be heavier, and the flour fairer. Many of them rake their stubbles with a horse-rake; which is a very good way in those thin shaffled crops. Indeed I see no great error in any of their proceedings: and were the lands in England managed by the plough, every part that is capable of bearing crops, as nearly to the greatest advantage as in the inhabited parts of America, there would probably be more than ten times as much grain brought to market as there is at present. It is easy to perceive why the American farmers do not vie with the farmers in England, in their crops on the fine lands so called in America: there are proofs of that every day; there have been English farmers enough gone over to try the experiment, and Scotch also. In all this ride, I did not see any grass-field of any value. There are on this land, which lies to rest for two years, some few weeds, and in the moist parts something they call grass; but it is of the P 2 212 nature of a rush, and very tough like wire: it grows about two or three inches long

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(the longest in a thin spiring manner, with the upper end like a small darning-needle, from five to six inches asunder), and of a very poor nature. It never grows long enough or has sufficient substance for mowing. But it would astonish a stranger to see the quantity of fruit in these parts, which makes the country to look beautiful twice a-year when the trees are in blossom, and when the fruit is on the trees ripe. But the fruit is chiefly for the use of hogs, and can be applied to no better purpose.

On my farm at Orange-Hill, only three miles from Baltimore, the last year I was there, I sold all my peaches to two men at four pence per peck, and let them have a cart and a horse to take them into the city to sell, knowing I had only made four pence per peck on the average the year before, and gathered them myself. These men agreed to pick them, and feed the horse in town at their expence. It was the opinion of 213 every one that they had got a great bargain, and many others wished they had had it. They picked about one-half of them, and carried them to Baltimore: but, alas! they gave up the business, saying they could not make wages, although they at first had said that they would certainly take every peach, intending, if the market should not suit, to carry them to the stills, &c. I was in hopes all this exertion would make this bargain successful, as four pence per peck would pay much better than to give them to hogs, as I have no knowledge of what number a hog will eat. Seeing this scheme frustrated, and thinking it a sin and a shame to see such a number of fine peaches rot on the ground, I mounted my horse, and rode to the stills, as there were many small ones within three or four miles of me in the country. They have been erected for this use; but many of them are never used after the first year; and I am of an opinion that they probably will not pay expences. The men at the stills were civil enough: 214 they offered to lend me the still, and let me find a man to work it, &c. or they would work it for me; but, from every information I could obtain, I found that my peaches would not more than pay the carriage to the stills, and hardly that: and as to selling them to the owners of the stills, they would not give me so much for my fruit, as would pay me for my trouble: nor will peaches pay the farmer, to be given to hogs, if they be not so situated that the hogs can run where they are; and that happened not to be my case.

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As a striking instance of the little profit of stills, Mr. O'Donnel, at Canton, had planted an orchard, of great extent, of red peaches, for the purpose of making peach-brandy. The red peach is reckoned much superior to any other for brandy. Although Mr. O'Donnel's orchard had grown to bear in great perfection, and he had a still and the other necessary apparatus, the profit proved so small, that he suffered the whole go to waste, and his pigs to consume the produce; 215 and, in the winter, rooted up all those fine peach trees, and planted the ground with Indian corn, having previously manured the land with dung from Baltimore for the purpose of an orchard. Now this gentleman had some hundreds of acres of woodlands unimproved in this plantation; therefore, the cause could not be for want of land.

My fine turnips, Indian corn, potatoes, &c. were in the field by the orchard without any fence. Indeed hogs are not allowed to run at large within five miles of Baltimore, by an act of assembly; and mine were too valuable to risk such a misfortune; and especially as I was a great hog-shooter myself, it would have been fine diversion for any of my neighbours to have shot one of my fifty-dollar pigs. Seeing that these plans would not succeed, all that remained was to fatten my own hogs with them. I had but seven hogs; and they would have employed a man with horse and cart half a day to feed them; for, after a short time, they will only eat the best peaches, and 216 refuse the others as a man would. I found this plan would not answer; and the consequence was, that, after every trial and exertion, they rotted on the ground. Now my farm was so situated that the great road through the heart of the country went through it, five or six stage-coaches, and great numbers of other carriages of all kinds. In all probability some of my own countrymen as merchants (for there begin to be many of these gentlemen to settle their accounts with the American merchants, and I suppose they will increase) seeing this waste committed, would, on returning to England, relate their story in this way—That when at the tavern at Baltimore on the same day, the fruit-people were asking eleven pence apiece for peaches. An Englishman says to himself, “What idle fools those Americans are! and I think all the English, when they get to America, are as bad: but, when I get there, I will set them the

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example.” But when there, he finds himself much disappointed, and does not know how it is that 217 he does not increase in riches, while neither himself nor his family enjoys any comfort. He at last finds out that the Americans are not a set of fools as he once thought: and, as he must have a name for them, perhaps he calls them rogues; which, if Lord Chesterfield was right in his observation, pleases a man the best of the two.

When I took this farm, I had not a doubt, that, by some extraordinary exertion, I should be able to make something handsome from peaches, and so near Baltimore. Before I took the farm, when I enquired how peaches sold in the market, perhaps they would tell me eleven pence apiece, and eleven pence a peck on the same day. That used to stagger me very much: but it is so: and the man who offers you a fine Newington peach for eleven pence or a fivepenny bit, sells but few each day; and lives, although very poorly, at a very great expence: consequently his profit must be great on each article. The man who sells the peaches at eleven pence each, will not 218 grow rich by his business, any more than the grower. Then we come to the calculation of my profit at four pence per peck, which is the best and greatest price. Could the scheme be put in execution, it will, generally speaking, require two men and one horse and cart each day, to pick thirty pecks and carry them to market; and thirty pecks are more than any white man can sell one day with another. A black man is much better for this business than a white man; although they are in general ignorant, they are impudent: thirty pecks of peaches, at four pence per peck, is just ten shillings per day for peaches; and the two men's wages are worth, at that season of the year, one dollar per day each, and one pint of whiskey, which will be sixteen shillings for the men: the cart and horse are worth one dollar and a half per day; but you could not hire it for less than two dollars. Now the expences on this business are one pound seven shillings and three pence per day, and the produce is ten shillings. But as 219 I sold them, I made profit each day on thirty pecks of peaches two shillings and nine pence: the reader may plainly see that there could not be any thing done better. This shews in this part of the work where I am on the Eastern Shore, one hundred miles and upwards from market, that the reader will be convinced the cherries and peaches pay the best for hogs. Now

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we will come to the apples for the winter; as to the summer fruit, pears, plums, &c. they raise all those things here; but pear or plum trees will not produce fruit at all in many parts of America, nor are they worthy of bearing the name here, and are only fit for hogs, as they have no flavour of the fruit in England, although of the same kind: raspberries are very inferior, but currants equally good as in England: as to ripe gooseberries, nectarines, or apricots, there can be no such thing, for they all dwindle away before they grow ripe. Now the winter apples sell very well. I have sold two bushels and a half of apples after 220 Christmas, which is called a barrel, at five dollars, which is one pound seventeen shillings and six pence. But, to make this barrel, it would require at least ten barrels to preserve one to this time; which will reduce the price to three shillings and nine pence per barrel. Then the sorting will be six pence for two bushels and a half, which leaves one shilling and three pence halfpenny the bushel, or not quite four pence a peck. Now to cure them properly in that country, the process is this—First pick them, and put them in a chamber, letting them lie there for some time to sweat; then put them in a barrel, and place them in a cellar, or they will freeze in any other situation. But the price in general is three dollars and a half a barrel; and when that is the case, there would be a loss on them. This shews that the making of cyder is a better business, which sells at two dollars the barrel of thirty gallons. Although the apples are said to be fine, great numbers are decayed at the core, and 221 become mouldy before they are ripe; which causes them to rot much.

As grass does not grow by nature as in England, if it were not for fruit, and the nuts, roots, &c. in the woods, the hogs raised must be kept on corn the whole of the year; and bacon is one of the principal necessities of life in these parts as to flesh meat: for, during the summer, fresh meat is of little value, because if it be not cooked as soon as killed, it grows putrid and stinks; and, at best, when dressed in that hot state, it is very inferior to the shambles meat in England, that has time to cool and set before it is dressed. The greater number of people in America live on salt fish and smoked bacon: and the reason why they smoke their bacon and fish, is, that there are many sorts of reptiles that would absolutely destroy it, were it not for the smoke, particularly what is called the skippers, or salt-worm,

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which is one great reason why cheese can never 222 become a general article in America; for the heat of the sun causes the outer coat to crack and smell; and the flies strike it, and, notwithstanding the most watchful attention, will destroy a great many, and damage others. As to butter, the milk can only be kept in spring houses, (a building with a stream of water running through it for the milk-pans to stand in,) and then not a proper time to make all the cream rise, as it does in England; therefore there will be a great loss in the proportion of milk taken from the cows; and when the butter is churned, except with those that have icehouses, the sun renders it so soft, and so disagreeable, as to be scarcely worth any thing. Such as have it to carry to market must go in the night: it is usual in the towns and cities for the market to begin by two o'clock in the morning. A farmer's waggon in America, when she comes into market, is something like a pedlar's pack: it consists of butter, eggs, fruits, potatoes, 223 turnips, cucumbers, chickens, ducks, geese, turkeys, wheat-flour, Indian-flour, buckwheat flour, rye-flour, chopped straw, &c.

As the keeping of horses is much more expensive (as I have observed before) in these climates than in England, having little or no grass to grow by nature, they are to feed on corn the whole year or nearly, or be unfit for use; and some days are so hot that the horse cannot work, but is compelled to stand to rest to get breath; and in the summer they are so pestered with flies, as none but those who have seen the country can believe. It is common for gentlemen, as in England, to give their horses a run in summer to soil them, to cure their feet and limbs, &c.: but if a horse be fat when he goes to grass, he is sure to come up poor. There is one fly, which, after it has remained on the horse a little time, has, I think, near a tea-spoonful of blood in it, when you kill it; and it makes such an incision into the outer skin, 224 that, when it has taken its fill from the animal, the place bleeds a moderate quantity after, which must reduce him very much. Then, in the winter, it is so cold, that a horse requires high feeding to support him. From these natural causes, the reader may be easily led to believe there are great inconveniences. Mules are the best for use in these countries: General Washington worked nothing else. The reason why I have explained so much in this part, is, that these farmers are not tobacco-growers on the

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Eastern Shore; and the only produce is Indian corn, grain, and pork: very little fat cattle produced here, or sheep. It may be worthy of remark, that the grain raised in those parts of America passes through a number of hands before it comes to the consumer, which must lessen the grower's gains. He first sends it one or two hundred miles, and from that to eight hundred miles, to market, and commissions a man to sell it: then the miller gets hold of it: there is a cask to put the flour in, 225 which is nearly a waste: there is an inspector to examine the flour: then there is frequently another commission to buy the flour to ship it: then there is the ship's freight to pay, and another commission, warehouse-room in England, &c. All these certainly are great disadvantages: they shackle the commercial interests of those parts called the Eastern Shore, and lessen the profits of the land's produce.

To return to my pursuits of the tour.—Mr. Singleton introduced me to a great number of very respectable men, and men of business. The chief of them are their own overseers; which is not usually the case in America; for most of them, as planters or farmers, keep a white man to whip the blacks. Among the rest of these farmers, I was introduced to a Mr. Samuel Chamberlaine, who shewed the best crop of wheat I saw. The land where this grew was where there had been an Indian town; for, seeing the crop superior to any other, I particularly enquired what the land Q 226 had been. I supposed there to be twenty bushels per acre: but Mr. Singleton said there would not be more than twelve bushels on that field.

This gentleman reaped his wheat in a manner different from any other I ever saw, either in England or America—by cutting the heads off: there was one man to two reapers, who held a bag, and put the ears into it; and he had carts with high boards at the sides, and carried them home, and left all the straw in the field. This I think the worst and most wasteful method of reaping I ever saw, although done with a very industrious intention. By cutting the wheat so high, many ears were left uncut; many dropped out of the hand, before it reached the bag; and some dropped on the ground, in tossing into the cart.

This gentleman looked upon this as a cheap method of manuring land.—At the time of treading, he has a large roller drawn by horses, to shed the grain out of the ears.

I then was introduced to Ed. Loyd, 227 Esq. at Why-House, a man of very extensive possessions—I have heard say, thirteen plantations, of one thousand acres each. His house and gardens are what may be termed elegant: and the land appeared the best I ever saw in any one spot in America, He had a deer-park, which is a very rare thing there: I saw but two in the country; this, and another belonging to Colonel Mercer; These parks are but small—not above fifty acres each. I could scarcely tell what the deer lived on. There were only some of those small rushes growing in this park which bear the name of grass, and leaves of trees.

Mr. Singleton and Mr. Loyd had each a field of clover, and all the clover I saw in my ride. If clover were as productive as some authors tell us, there would be more of it grown: but, like mine, it will not pay for mowing. Mr. Loyd had a small field of timothy,—I suppose intended for his saddle and carriage horses,—and the only one I saw in all my ride, of any intended Q 2 228 for hay. Mr. Loyd had the finest field of Indian corn I ever beheld—so neat, not a weed that I saw in one hundred acres all in one field; and the corn then going into silk, and in general as high as a man on horseback. He had the best crop of buckwheat I ever saw, intended to be ploughed in for vegetable manure. He had about five acres of pumpkins in good condition. All his crops were better than any other I saw in any part of America, and every thing in the greatest order. He has some very good sheep, fine cattle, and very good horses. Mr. Loyd's father had some years before imported a bull and two cows from Mr. Bakewell: and from the offspring he had some of the fattest cattle that could be imagined, for the food they had to live upon. He estimated some of his wheat at fifteen bushels per acre; and it was said the produce from eighteen hundred acres of land was eighteen thousand bushels of wheat; which was one of the greatest crops in America.

Having spent some very agreeable days with him, he introduced me to Colonel Niclos, a very pleasant and genteel man. He was remarkable for fine fruits: he gave me some of the best cyder, of his own making, I ever drank—very little inferior to Champagne; it was delightful. From his cyder I discovered the possibility of making a very great improvement in that beverage: the cyder in America is chiefly made of decayed apples.

After spending a day with him, I was introduced to a Mr. Tilford, an Englishman; whose lady and himself repeated a number of grievances to me respecting America. He had a farm in good order, and a great deal of wheat and Indian corn, very little inferior to Mr. Loyd's; but he confessed the farming to be a very bad business. I then returned to Mr. Singleton's, where I remained a day or two before my arrival at Orange-Hill.

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SECTION VI. *The regular Proceedings on the Farm.*

Having left orders, and men proper to do what was necessary, to plough and hoe the corn, harrow the potatoes, &c. at my return we began to prepare a piece of land for turnips, which we did in a very correct manner, by moving the weeds first; which may stagger the reader: but the weeds kept the sun from the land, and the soil is of so loose and light a nature that it is soon pulverised. Having some compost, which was of more than a year's standing, a most beautiful crop I raised; and as I had experienced so much value in the plaster of Paris the year before, when the turnips got into three leaves I applied some plaster diamondwise in squares, to see the effects of it, so as not to be partial to either the 231 best or the worst land: though I had tried the plaster, in the spring, on rye, oats, barley, peas, Indian corn, early potatoes, and winter potatoes; from thirty-two, sixteen, eight, four, to two bushels per acre; and I could discern no sort of difference betwixt the spots where I used no plaster, and those where the several quantities were put. But on the turnips it was wonderful; so much as to: attract the eye of every beholder. Judge Peters's brother was a brewer, at Baltimore, has a small farm, and is a great gardener; and he had made use of plaster in different ways, and endeavoured to prove plaster was of no use to any crop

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in that part of the country: I fetched him to see the effects of plaster on the turnips, which convinced him of his error.

After I had found it so useful on the turnips, I procured as much as covered the whole of the patch, or piece; and, in about seven days, it was impossible to distinguish where I had applied the plaster on the first part: but I could discern that the turnips 232 were the best which I had done first; they were somewhat larger at the time of pulling; they were allowed to be the best crop ever seen in America, and of as good a quality. New land turnips are allowed to be the best for the table: but these were equal to any new land turnip: and from this I discovered that if turnips grow quick, they will be sweet. Their tops being large, I gave them to my cows, and some turnips amongst them: nor did the milk taste at all disagreeable from the turnip feed. Then we made butter from the cream of that milk, and found the butter equally good as from any other food. I kept some of it four weeks, to see if any turnip taste would come on; but I never could discover any: and, should the same process remove the unpleasant taste that butter usually has in England, when cows are fed on turnips, it Would prove of great value to the public in general, especially in Norfolk, and other turnip counties. I do not imagine it arises from the plaster, but from a very simple 233 thing given to the cows when they are fed on turnips.

During this summer, I raised some garden peas in the fields, in the manner described in my former work, by the plough and harrows. I intended to have sown three acres of garden peas: but I could get only three quarts of seed; which I sowed after the rate of three bushels to the acre: and we got, when green, to eat twenty-one times for seven in family, and had two pecks of seed peas, all from those three quarts. They were not rodded; but, the year before, I set three quarts in the garden, and managed them in the gardeners' style, and only got five times for seven people, and one quart of seed peas from them: and it has strengthened my opinion, that peas thrive better not rodded, where they can get air, and they will produce more, and especially in hot dry soils. The year before, there was compost applied in the rows, equally as much if not more. There was plaster of Paris applied both years; but I found no 234 benefit from it either year: the only

difference was, that those which had plaster were later fit to pluck. I tried French plaster and Nova-Scotia plaster on the turnips, but could see no difference: both were equally good. This being August, and the time of mowing the timothy, I let eleven acres to two Dutch men, at one dollar and a quarter per acre, and eleven pints of whiskey. I expected it to have been mown in five days; but it was twenty-one days before they finished it. I mention this circumstance only as shewing how unpleasant it is to have business to do in such a country. The second day they were mowing, one man mowed very ill: I mentioned it to him: he threw down his hat and scythe, stamped upon his hat, d—d me and all Englishmen, and went his way: and the other man,—although he was a neat mower, never missed a day, and frequently lay in the meadow at night under a tree,—was twenty-one days before he had finished.

It being now September, it was time to 235 blade and top the corn, which was an indifferent crop, and set more for the support of the cows than any other use: it was not managed properly on account of my intention to leave the country, and finding it would not pay for good management. We began this work; and I should have been very hard set to get it harvested at all, the turnips sold, or the potatoes got out of the ground, &c. although I had then four men and a boy on the farm: but this is the time of the intermittent fever coming on,—which is so frequent, that, on a fair calculation, you must not reckon on more than one-half of your people to be able to work at this season of the year, at one time. But it happened that those were five Englishmen landed at Baltimore, and the yellow fever raged so in that city that they could not get any work there, nor did they choose it: otherwise I must have lost some part of the crops raised, if I had not met with them: for it was with some difficulty that I got all in before the 236 frost set, with all the force I could raise. A frost and snow came on in November; and, on the road betwixt Baltimore and Philadelphia, there were some scores of acres of Indian corn, both tops and blades, lost, for want of hands to get them in: and, except you have men at your own command to get in your crops, there is great danger of losing them.

SECTION VII. *Another Tour, and some Instructions given in Baltimore and Philadelphia.*

The crops being put in, the potatoes got up, and all prepared for the winter, I was engaged with a new brewery at Baltimore. I had that to attend to, to teach them the business. By this I learned to know the weight of the American barley, in Virginia especially, which weighed about forty pounds per bushel, forty-five pounds the highest, with such quantities of garlic in it as astonished me much. In steeping two hundred bushels, there was as much as fifteen bushels of garlic, which the land produces all over America. This barley came out of Virginia, as there is very little raised near Baltimore, or wheat either, and very little barley on the Eastern Shore. There was a very great quantity of garlic on 238 the Eastern Shore amongst the wheat, and the like in Pennsylvania. It is very extraordinary that enriching the land destroys even the garlic.

Having finished my business at Baltimore with the brewer, I had engaged with a brewer at Philadelphia, where I had an opportunity of knowing the weight of the barleys in that state, and likewise Long Island, which was about forty-five pounds the bushel, and the best sort fifty pounds.

During my stay in Philadelphia, I saw some seed called herd-grass, in the seedman's list. I made myself acquainted with the nature of that plant, which is the best hay raised in America, and brought some of the seed into this country.

The brewery business in America is one of the best, and the only one I know likely to come to any thing worth notice. The determinate saccharine qualities of the best barleys grown in America compared with those of England,—by Mr. Richardson's instrument, which I had 239 with me,—is in the proportion of thirty of the former to eighty of the latter; and the profit arising about the same as when English barley sells from thirty shillings to thirty-five shillings per quarter, and porter is sold at thirty shillings per barrel; or the American barleys at forty-eight to fifty-six shillings per quarter, and the barrel of ale (thirty gallons) sold at

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seven dollars. The greatest inconvenience arising in this business is not having barley to be bought in many parts, even to make it worth attention; and the consumption of ale and beer being the same, malt liquor not being the customary liquor of the lower class of people, but spirits of different kinds, grains are very good to sell.

To shew the price of beer, I will here insert my brewer's bill.

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Mr. Richard Parkinson, in account with P.... and J Cr.

Dollars Cents 1799.—Oct. 31. To ½ barrel table-beer, 2 50 Nov. 13. To ½ barrel ditto, 2 50 Dec. 6. To 1 cask small-beer, 2 20. To 1 ditto ditto, 2 1800.—Jan. 7. To 1 ditto ditto, 2 Feb. 25. To 1 ditto ditto, 2 Mar. 19. To 1 ditto ditto, 2 April 9. To 1 ditto ditto, 2 May 9. To 1 fierce ditto, 10 29 50 To balance due P. and J. 13 25 1799.—Dec. 4. By cash, 5 1801.—Mar. 7. By 11¼ bushels malt, 11 25 By balance, 13 25 29 50

Received the above account, in full, for P. and J.,

30th March, 1 1801. R. C

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The reader will observe that the first three articles are table-beer: the charge is fifteen shillings for twenty gallons of small-beer, at nine pence per gallon.—Then, to shew either the irregularity of these men, or their desire to grow rich, I had paid the amount of another bill, and taken a receipt, to the date of April the 9th; afterwards all was brought over again; and two partners, and two clerks in the office, were ready to swear to the account. Being in habits of great friendship with one of the brewers, I let this business lie open for some time, by paying ready money for what I took. When I called, as they supposed to pay the whole of the bill, having all parties present, I tendered the former receipt for twelve dollars fifty cents as cash, which made some small alteration in their countenances, as they imagined that I had lost my account.—These sort of friendly matters frequently happen in America.

A miller is said to have a good business: but then two millers will not say so.— R 242

Amongst the many unpleasant things that happen to the English emigrants, I met with one equal to any I ever heard of, a few days before I left the country.—I was at Baltimore one day with Mr. Stump, a gentleman who employs a merchant-mill near Baltimore. While I was in the office, there came in a young man in decent, or rather genteel, apparel, to ask for work. Mr. Stump replied to the young man—“You do not look like a man of that kind!” and showed, by his answer, that he wished to get rid of him. The young man was very pressing for employ, and said he had been brought up in a mill, at Long-Sutton, in the county of Lincoln. I, knowing the place, asked him if he knew some respectable people in and about that country; which he did. From my knowing the country whence he had come, Mr. Stump gave some encouragement to the young man; and he related his case, which was as follows:—That his elder brother and his wife and two children, and himself 243 and a wife, fixed to come into America, to purchase some of those cheap and fertile lands. They had been encouraged to this by a letter from a brother-in-law, who lived at Norfolk, telling them how well they might do in America. Accordingly, they raised a property of about seventeen hundred pounds between them, went to London, there agreed for their passage in a ship bound to Norfolk, and paid two hundred guineas. Just before they were ready to sail, they received a letter, informing them that their father was dead,—perhaps broken-hearted:—and the mill he enjoyed was his own, which would then descend to them. But, in preference to returning to that situation, having paid their passage, &c. and such fine things being held out by the brother-in-law, they set off to America, and landed at Norfolk. When they got there, they found no land that they liked, nor had this friend at Norfolk any situation for them. He had got hold of the property: the chief part of it was in goods; he was to sell them, R 2 244 &c. which undoubtedly was his first intention. After spending some time, and a great deal of money, at Norfolk, (having agreed that this friend should sell the goods, and remit money as they wanted it; but it is likely they would never see many shillings of it, which is very generally the case; they had already discovered a neglect of remittance, and found some difficulty to get the money that they were in want of,) they and their families set off to Alexandria, after making some searches to buy lands

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about that country: but finding nothing they could see at all proper or advantageous, his brother set off to Fredericksburg; was some few days away; and at his return, they found he was quite deranged, and so much out of temper with him, and the rest of the family, that this young man left him at Alexandria, brought his wife to George-Town, took lodgings for her there, and had come to Baltimore to seek work, finding that their money went fast, and nothing was likely to come in; and now this young 245 man offered to work for his meat, to avoid expences. From this pitiful tale, Mr. Stump told him he might go to the mill: he would give him a line to the foreman at the mill, to take him in: Mr. Stump told him his men lived on plain food, but wholesome, which was salt fish, smoked beef and smoked bacon, tea or coffee, with water for their drink, and he was to work as a labourer for little or no wages. In all probability, this half-brother of theirs was in such embarrassed circumstances that they would never get their money again; which is frequently the case when any one in that country writes to his friends in England to come to them. Now, to enumerate the misfortunes of this family:—The father is dead, and his affairs neglected; the elder brother mad; a poor woman, his wife, with two children, at very high expences, without any friend near her, to give her either assistance or comfort; this young man, thirty miles from his pregnant wife, without any home, himself working 246 for little or nothing, and in all probability the money entirely gone.

I know two instances of men of family, from England, nearly in the same situation. The father of one of them was said to be as much a gentleman as any man in England: the father of the other was a justice of the peace. The one lives in a small log-house, in the most distressed circumstances; the other in a small farm, in a very remote part.

To enumerate all the different distresses that I have discovered in the two years I have been in America would employ my pen for months.

The young man whom I mentioned in the former part of this work, who had been deprived of six thousand pounds by his elder brother, is now insane: and the father of those gentlemen was in one of the first firms in London, a large tobacco manufactory, and had

many good estates in England. I have learned all this from the young man 247 himself; who, when alone, is as reasonable, pleasant, good young man as any I know, and will talk as reasonably, but cannot bear company: and, by his industry as a super-cargo to the West-Indies, it is said that he had gained something handsome. Nevertheless, from one distress or other, he is incapable of settling his affairs; and therefore, in all probability, must remain in America in as unpleasant a state as a man can be in. No man in the world could dislike any thing worse than he does America. The young man threatens them, when in his insanity, to let Mr. Pitt know of all their tricks; and says all the fevers are a calamity the Almighty afflicts them with for their wickedness.

The tanner's business is said to be a good one: but, from some cause, they make very bad leather; and as a proof, there is an Irishman at Baltimore who imports his leather from England; and by so doing, he has gained what is termed a fortune. He keeps his carriage and country-house. This 248 shews that imported leather yields a good profit.

A hatter's is reckoned a good business; but I do not think so; for, to my own knowledge, a hat, bought at five shillings and six pence wholesale in Liverpool, sells in Baltimore at five dollars, which is twenty-five shillings sterling at the price of the dollar at the present: and I have heard say in America, that hats could be imported from England, and sold by retail at a greater profit, than is gained by those made in America.

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SECTION VIII. *The several Kinds of Horses in general Use; some Remarks on Stage Coaches, and Anecdotes that occurred to the Author in travelling, describing the Coaches, and the Customs at Taverns, &c. and the Politics of the Americans in general.*

The horses that are generally used in America, are about fourteen hands, and from that to fifteen hands high, and upwards. In colour they vary much, as the English horses of the road kind. The chief part of them amble and canter, are very easy to ride, and hardy; and

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are able, either from use or nature, to bear the worst of treatment. They have no sort of horses equal to the best in England. They are very fond of race-horses, and breed a great many. In running races, they ride, sailor-like, generally as quick as the horse can go. All that I saw were, in general, smaller than the racers in England; and, 250 if large, they are very much out of form. I never saw a black dray-horse, all the time I was in the country: neither do I think our heavy dray-horses could exist in the hot weather of that climate. Even if that were not the case, they would diminish in size, from the poverty of the soil, as large animals of no kind will keep their size long on very barren soils, but at very heavy expences. They have very few poneys, and not many of the coach-horse kind. The Dutch farmers make use of a sort of ill-shaped large clumsy horse, although they bear the name of fine horses there. They in general have them very fat; which, to indifferent judges, covers many faults. This is one reason why I so much approve the practice of feeding horses with rye flour and chopped straw, which is the Dutchman's manner of feeding his horses. The best food I ever saw or tried, is rye flour, carefully mixed with straw chopped about one inch long. The straw must be made 251 very wet all over, and some care taken that every part of it may get a proper moisture, that the rye flour may cling to it. If this be done, the horse will not leave a single inch of the straw; and he will chew it much; for rye flour is of such a nature, that it will stick to the straw like glue. This in many parts will be found very valuable food. Horses for the waggon, and plough, are said to feed upon it with more avidity than upon any other kind of food, and to work with more strength; but it is reckoned too fattening for a road or coach horse. When the Americans feed their horses with Indian corn, they allow it to be best broken in small pieces, not ground into flour. They mix almost all kinds of corn food with chopped straw, and frequently bran. These horses travel slow; but the real American horse travels quick. It is not at all uncommon to see a waggon with two or four horses pass the mail coach. I never was overturned in a coach but once; and it was by a waggoner with two 252 horses racing against four horses in the coach I was in:—in a narrow place, the waggoner came up to the coach with his horses and waggon, and drove the horses that drew the coach off the road; and the wheels ran upon the side of a bank, and upset the coach. The waggoner rode laughing away: but

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there is not that respect paid by waggoners to the public coaches in America, as there is in England. The mail coach is generally compelled to give way to the waggon, although I knew no business conducted with greater propriety in America than the stage coaches; and the horses in general are the best in the country, and in very great condition travel from four to five miles an hour, when the roads are what is termed good; in the winter, in some parts, not more than one mile an hour; and an English coachman would not attempt to drive a coach on such roads, in great snows, through woods, to escape bad holes in the roads, stumps of trees, &c. which cannot be seen on account of the snow covering them. The coach, is a sort of waggon on springs, 253 an open carriage, with a top to it made of boards; and, on each side, and at the ends, curtains, to let down, baize in the inside, and a sort of canvas on the outside, tied with leather ties, to the supporters of the top, on the sides, and at the bottom, catching on a sort of stud, like that of a single horse chaise apron. The coach has three seats within the carriage, and one the coachman sits on before. Thus it carries twelve people, three on each seat, as two passengers ride by the side of the coachman: but the mail coach carries only nine passengers, the mail lying in the inside of the coach. The coachman joins in the conversation with the passengers, and, generally speaking, is a man of the greatest information in the coach; for, by daily passing on the road in the coach, and riding with the passengers, he knows every thing on the road, and learns the news from all quarters. He is always a great politician, and generally names his horses after the president and vice-president: and if he has a horse that wants the whip, 254 he generally names him after some man he dislikes, that he may keep flogging him. The drivers of coaches are in general sober men, and it is not usual for the passengers to give the coachman money at the end of the stage, as in England: indeed he considers himself equal to any one: and, seemingly, it would be an offence to offer him money. He will drink a glass with you as a companion, but in no other way. The coachmen drive but one stage, from fourteen to twenty miles, and take care of their own horses, which is one cause of their good appearance. At the taverns, as you go along, there are your appointed places to breakfast, dine, sup, and sleep at, as the coaches generally stop somewhere about four hours in the night, the nights being in general much

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darker than in England. The breakfast is half a dollar, the dinner one dollar, and supper half a dollar, and beds a quarter of a dollar a night. It is not usual to give servants any thing at taverns: but there are some Englishmen ²⁵⁵ who do it, and it is a growing evil, and of disagreeable consequences to travellers. If you drink wine or porter, you pay for it separately: but brandy or rum is generally set on the table, and given in at the dollar. There is rarely any tea drinking, as the supper is tea and coffee, the same as breakfast, with fish, beefstakes, mutton chops, sausages, eggs, &c. several kinds of bread and butter, cakes of buck-wheat, &c. There are no post-chaises: but there are horses to hire, and coaches of accommodation, at about half a dollar a mile with four horses.

Politics being very frequently the evening's conversation in all taverns and publick houses in most parts of the world I have been in, it is very much the same in America: and the downfall of England seems to be the wish of the greatest number of the company at those taverns in America; and the parties do all they can on both sides to raise one country and knock down the other. Being at Mr. Cameron's at the Golden Swan in Philadelphia, one evening, ²⁵⁶ there were present a great many Englishmen (as the landlord is a Scotchman, they resort to him); and many American merchants were there; and the politics that evening ran very high, being the time of the election of the president; and the chief competitors were a Mr. Collins, and a Mr. Watson, an American merchant. Mr. Collins, being an old Englishman, and having been many years in America, has been, I should imagine, regularly trained to defend old England, and has his words very much at will, and has a good memory and speaks loud, which is much in his favour. Mr. Watson is very able, and in full practice on the other side, and has not to seek to make reply. I used to go to hear this conversation very commonly in an evening, which lasted from one to two hours regularly. Mr. Collins went away at eight o'clock, or nearly; Mr. Watson generally staying until nine o'clock; so that, whatever appeared to be the sense of the company present at eight o'clock, Mr. ²⁵⁷ Watson always went away conqueror. One evening, Mr. Collins being gone, I got up and was going likewise. Mr. Watson accosted me, saying, "What is your opinion of England, Mr. Parkinson? It never will be able to pay the national

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debt.” In reply, I paid Mr. Watson the compliment of saying “I as an Englishman felt myself much obliged to him during the evening, and at several other times, for the tenderness and fine feelings he had for the honour, and sufferings he seemingly bore for the sake of England; but probably he might be interested in the business; he might have some money funded in England.” “No,” he said, “he had not.” I told him if he had, he might readily sell it at the Stock Exchange; and in answer to his remark, that England could never pay her debt, “whom will it injure if she never does?—she borrows the money of her own subjects; therefore it will not injure you gentlemen in America, or any other power. The simile is this—It is the same as a man S 258 having a wife, and a number of children grown up, who all live in the same house, but during the day have every one a different trade or calling, and industriously employ their time, and by such industry amass certain sums of money, which these children, sons and daughters, can conveniently spare from their different trades. The father, having all the affairs of the family to conduct, taxes and all national matters to attend to, for the protection of his property, to prevent foreign invaders and plunderers, and to promote the happiness and comfort that the family enjoy in that house, has greater occasion for money than the rest of the family: and his own trade or calling does not bring him in money to supply his necessary wants; therefore he borrows money of the family round his own fire side, of his wife, his sons, and daughters, &c. and pays interest for it. Now, if it so happen when he is called upon by them, that he cannot pay, there is no other family injured, nor are 259 they much injured. They have the same resources as they had before, and the same opportunity to get money, by each of their separate trades, and they have only lent the surplus money, they could spare. Just so would it be with the national debt; the chief part of the lenders of the money funded can live equally as well without it. Then again you frequently observe in your conversation—that England dare not be at peace; that the nation could not subsist at all, if they were not at war with some foreign power; for that it is by plundering and robbing on the seas, that they find money to carry on their national affairs,—agriculture, manufactures, &c. In reply to you, Mr. Watson—If England be poor, pray what nation is rich? It appears very plainly, in this and every other evening's conversation, that England gives credit to all the nations

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that take her manufactures, and pays either in goods or cash for all she buys. Then the immense riches she holds in London, and the manufacturing towns, S 2 260 I suppose are scarcely to be computed, and what no other nation enjoys. Then the landed property, from its climate and soil, is superior to what any other nation or power can boast of. Again, the immense value of the horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, &c. that are fed upon the land, is beyond all calculation. I beg to mention to you, Mr. Watson, one circumstance, of the value of the sheep and cattle grazing on one hundred and six acres of land in Gidney marshes in the months of May and June, 1797, which cost Mr. John Everson of Holbeach three thousand one hundred and fifty nine pounds fifteen shillings and nine pence, without any horses. The account was taken from his books by myself, and these sheep and cattle were all intended for the knife during the year. Now how many miles and acres of land will it take in any inhabited part of America to raise the like sum? I am clear that ten miles square would not do it, in any part of America I have been in; nor would twenty 261 miles without horses. Then again, the influx of paper you mention, certainly is the cause why the cattle, horses, and every other article, bear so high prices in England; but the paper currency is extended equally as much, according to quantity of coin, or more so, in America, and probably in all other countries. And whom does that injure? The poor, as in all other cases, the lower sort of people the most, which causes great numbers to emigrate, as they cannot turn their small sums into paper: and it is the policy of a nation to keep two sorts of people, rich and poor;—although it may seem impolitic to say so, it is for the good of a nation;—for were all rich, or all poor, this equality of condition would not promote the happiness and comfort of the people: and it is not in the power of things to make a better provision for the poor, such part as are unable to work from infirmity, or youth, as fatherless children, &c. than is made by the present poor laws in England. It is a real charity, distributed by a set of gentlemen 262 who are not benefited by either party, as the magistrates in England sit for the sake of justice. It is an actual arbitration betwixt the parish and the pauper. There cannot be a real suffering subject in England; he is protected by law, and the price of labour must rise according to the price of provision: how this may affect manufactories I do not know. There are not those things in America.”—(From this conversation, as I am told

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by an English merchant who was in the room, I got some credit with the company present, when I was gone. I had not the pleasure of knowing the gentleman at that time; nor do I know that I should have remembered the circumstance if he had not repeated it to me since I returned to Liverpool.)—"Then again, Mr. Watson, on Mr. Collins's mentioning the immense debt due from the American merchants to the British merchants, you observed in reply they owe them nothing; that England has paid herself by taking yours and other merchants' ships, which have been condemned 263 as lawful prizes, though they were not legally so. Mr. Collins made it plainly appear that those ships so condemned, were condemned through your own fault, by endeavouring to carry on an unlawful trade, by carrying contraband goods, to defraud the government of England of what they are entitled to according to the treaty made between Britain and America at the conclusion of the war. But were that the case, it is a strange way of settling accounts for the American merchants to say there is a general balance struck between the two countries from the property taken from them, to give a balance to a merchant's account, who has been good enough to give credit for a part of that account several years, and all of it so long a time as to give bread to the American and his family; which has been very often the case. You said that the Bank of England's inability to pay their paper was the cause why Mr. Pitt made an act for the Bank of England's notes to be a legal payment. Mr. Pitt might have 264 many reasons that individuals knew nothing of. I knew none at that time: but I know a very substantial one now. The gold coin in England requires that great care should be taken of it: I have observed, since I came into this country, that the English guinea has a small piece cut from it: that is, I suppose, with an intention to keep it in this country, and never let it go to England again. There are undoubtedly two arts in that: the one, that there are one or two shillings cut from every English guinea; and another is, that the part remaining pays for twenty-one shillings sterling." That this is a common practice appears certain from the following fact:—Wanting cash to bring me to England, and being in habits of great friendship with the cashier of the Baltimore Bank, I applied to him for English money for their own bills; he said he would give me all the gold he had, which was nine guineas, every one of which had a small piece cut off. Therefore by that means every 265 English

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guinea that is taken by an American in England, and carried to America, is immediately worth twenty-three shillings sterling: and I have taken notice, since I landed at Liverpool, and have been detained there, that the American captains are very pressing for gold, on every occasion; to take, I suppose, into America and deface: but their general plea is, that they want it to buy butter, eggs, fowls, &c. These politicians frequently argue, that they can do without England. They can manufacture for themselves, and then what will become of England? They have once *whipped* the British; and they will do it again (the term *whipping* arises from their whipping the negroes). Those threats arise from the condemnation of American ships. I in reply say, “No, you never will be able to manufacture—at the present you cannot manufacture even a gun-flint—but that England will do it both cheaper and better than you can yourselves. Your country will never enable you to do it: yours is not a wool country; the soil will not support sheep in any number. From the produce, the English soil first made the trade; and now trade is repaying the sod. Within my own knowledge, it was a customary thing with my father, as a Lincolnshire grazier, to sell his wool (from about one thousand sheep) to a wool-stapler in Yorkshire in the month of July, and to take a note for the money to the amount of three hundred and fifty pounds sterling, payable by a bill to become due the April following. When this bill came down from Halifax to him, he regularly gave it to a shopkeeper to pay his tradesmen in London or elsewhere; and my father received the money from that shopkeeper, when the bill became due. Now it may be worthy observation, that there were nine months' use of three hundred and fifty pounds without interest: this wool was raised on about six hundred acres of land; and this being a customary way of doing business at that time, if three hundred and fifty pounds were lent from every six hundred acres of grazing land in the county of Lincoln only, what an immense sum the whole of the grazing land lent to the trade in those days! All this was independent of the fat cattle, horses, &c. raised on this grazing land: and I have known my father have the like sum in the jobbers' hands in the month of November for the fat sheep, and cattle, he had sold to go into Yorkshire during the summer. This money was of great assistance to the trade; but there are none of these sort of advantages in America to give the like assistance to raise the manufactures; nor can there be; the

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soil is of too barren a nature; and the climate is against the health of the people, and the fattening of both sheep and cattle. These sheep were fed in England on the marsh soils during the winter, on grass; without any further expence, than one man to look after five thousand of them: nor would it have been any advantage to the graziers to have had the 268 money sooner in those days, as those grazing lands kept from one to two sheep on an acre during the winter, and in the summer from four to ten sheep on an acre; therefore, the month of May was the time the additional number of sheep and cattle was required; and the money came when it was wanted.” When this is told in America, I suppose they think it untrue; nor have the most sensible of them the least idea what kind of land this may be, The old gentleman, Mr. Boadley of Philadelphia, whom I have so frequently mentioned in this work, hearing this sort of conversation from me, said, when I parted with him, that he had never felt such a desire to be young again as at the present moment, to come along with me to England to see all those things; for although he had read all the authors on the subject of agriculture, it had either escaped his attention, or they had never mentioned the advantages that I had pointed out to him. Nor was General Washington any more informed 269 of what England is, than if he had never heard of it. It is understood by all the American gentlemen, that England was formerly a continued wood, as America is and has been, and that the land the sea has left, was covered with rushes and flags, and all the land in England has been improved by the plough and dunghill. When I told them that we had thousands of acres which never had been tilled or dunged, nor did the ingenuity of man know what to do to a great part of it to make it more useful than it is, my account staggered them much, as the English authors on agriculture have chiefly written some great improvements on certain waste lands in England, which has filled the American's ideas that no English farmer has more than forty acres in his farm, and he ploughs the land himself, he and his family reaping the produce. They have no more idea of the comforts which the farmer in England enjoys, than as if he was not a man; and when I 270 told them one farmer had six hundred acres of wheat the year I came there, which produced thirty-two bushels per acre—and that there was one piece of land of six thoudred acres in a rabbit warren at Brand in Norfolk—and that Mr. Barker in Norfolk entered one

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hundred and twenty-four horses to plough with, when the tax was laid on horses for husbandry, they were astonished (and well they might, since England takes up so small a space in the map of Europe); and probably great part of them thought it untrue. But those who knew me were curious enough to wish to see those things. Those Americans who have been in England know little or nothing about it: they are brought in a ship to some sea-port, made drunk, put into a mail coach, and driven from one manufacturing town to another, and carried about like a bagged fox; they go to London, are taken to the plays, and other evening amusements frequented in town: and when one of these travellers returns to America his friends meet 271 him, and say, "How are you? how have you been?"—"Very well."—"What have you seen?"—"Liverpool, Sheffield, Birmingham, Wakefield, Halifax, and London."—"What did you see in London?" "I went to the play, and saw the king."—"Oh, d—n the king!"—"Are they not all starving in England?"—"Yes, the poorer sort of people are very much distressed; they are very heavily taxed, many dying in the streets for want of food."—"Do not they talk of a revolution?"—"Yes, they are ready if Bonaparte could get over. There are some few riots." Then it is generally said, "Well, you look very well."—"Oh, I lived very well." Then there is a laugh; and the company will say, "A man may always live well for his money," with the allusion of the greatest part of the English being so poor from the great oppression of government, that they are starving for want. Then in some part of his conversation he will mention a duke—"Oh, d—n your titles! thank God, we are not troubled with 272 them." Now, of the company then present, there will not be one out of ten who is not either Esquire, General, Colonel, Captain, or Doctor. Now this young hero has so spent his time, that it is more than ten to one if he knows the name of the play-house, whether Covent-garden or Drury-lane; yet when he gets a glass of Madeira into him, he will know the laws, the soil, and produce, better than any Englishman present. I was at General Ridgely's one day, and an American, one of the assembly men, in company: some debate arose betwixt him and me respecting the punishments for felony in England. He said the laws were cruel; and contended that he knew England better than I did. I then told him, I would ask him a question of a very public nature: I was of an opinion he would not be able to answer it. I asked him what was the

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produce of Yorkshire? He answered—wool. I told him it was coals; the wool was grown in other 273 countries, and brought to Yorkshire to be manufactured.

This gentleman, of the assembly, and a pleader or counsellor, had read some English publication wherein had been mentioned that a building containing private or lonely cells for felons was erecting in England. The opinion of some part of the Americans is, that they have so well made their code of laws as fit them to be an example to the globe; and they particularly wish it to be understood, that they think the laws of England too strict on the liberty and the rights of the subject, arbitrary in taxation, severe in the punishments of crimes, &c. This gentleman and I frequently met at General Ridgley's table, and used to argue upon those subjects, in such a manner, that the General several times observed he thought I was sent by Mr. Pitt to pull them to pieces. But my opinion is, that the laws of England are not more severe than they ought to be, as I do not know of any act in force to deprive a man of any right T 274 or liberty, or that is the least injurious to his trade or calling, so far as he acts with honest principles; and so soon as a man acts dishonestly, it is better for himself and all around him, that he should have proper correction for his offence. As to felony, it will admit of no excuse, and the sooner the offender is punished the better; for if the crime be of such a nature that the wisdom of the legislator thought it deserving death, in all probability if this man should escape justice, he would in a little time bring another man as a companion to the gallows with him. To this purport was my argument. My antagonist contended that it was wrong to put any man to death; and when he had read of our adopting solitary confinement as a punishment, he observed, "Now you see, Mr. Parkinson, your countrymen for whom you argue so much are going to be less severe; instead of hanging offenders, they will put them into those lonely cells." I, in answer, said "No, I do not understand 275 that; it is done with a much better intention—to keep those bad men from associating together, that they may not improve in roguery during the time of confinement; as it is doubtful whether there be a better school for any language or science, than a prison for a young man unfortunately inclined to be dishonest, nor could he by any other means get so regularly and perfectly instructed as

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a highway man, housebreaker, horse-stealer, &c:—and it is the opinion of many sensible men, that there have been young persons put in prisons for slight offences, and after their confinement they have, by hearing the hardened conversation of others, come out completely finished to rob and plunder, with a knowledge of every device to enable them to avoid being apprehended when they have committed those offences. The General frequently agreed with me in opinion respecting the necessity of punishment for crimes, which used much to irritate a great part of the company, particularly those men who are merely book-learnt I 2 276 on the subject in question; and even those young merchants who come to transact business in towns, and can tell a very plausible tale to their own countrymen that know nothing about it, when a man of real experience contradicts them it breaks their temper; probably having told those stories as facts amongst their companions, the refutation of them is very unpleasant.

A great object with the defenders of American politics is to persuade the subjects of England that America is free from taxes, and considering the burthens laid on the people in England, how much better chance a man has to get money in America, where, they say, there is little or no taxation. I had been but a short time in America, however, before I discovered taxes to be very high. The day I landed my racehorses, I wanted some horse rugs to cover them, the ship having been very hot; and the stables being built on wood and boarded at the sides, they were very cold: there was 277 scarcely straw to be got at any price for litter, as it is the chief of the winter food they have for their cattle. When I enquired for those rugs, the landlord of the tavern at Alexandria told me I must go to a store to buy them; but when I came there they had no such thing, nor were there any in the city; they offered me blankets, and told me they were used for that purpose in that country; but the price was a guinea for a small one, which I could have bought in the streets in Doncaster for five or six shillings. I could not but consider this as a tax, and I soon learnt that all other manufactured goods bore an equal proportion. Mr. Gadsby, the landlord, being an Englishman, and from London, readily informed me of the misery I had to undergo; and he

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frequently told me what had happened to him. Mr. Gadsley was a builder by profession, but that had not answered.

Finding the land so wretchedly barren, I turned my mind to think on trade, supposing from the price the profit to be very great. I had become acquainted with many Englishmen who had come over with an intention to farm, but who had given the preference to trade, and particularly the eldest son of Mr. Allenby, of Maidenwell, in the county of Lincoln, who was born and brought up a farmer as well as myself, and a neighbour, and of a family that has never shewn an instance of want of spirit or judgment. While debating with myself how to act, I met with a merchant from Wakefield in Yorkshire, whom I invited to dine with me, and discovered to him my disappointment of the American land, and asked his opinion whether trade might not be better, as I was very certain there was only a very miserable living to be had by farming. He very soon convinced me of the great hazard of that answering; at best a bad business. This put all thoughts of that kind out of my head, This merchant having a brother who kept a store at Boston, in New England, I made no further enquiry on that subject.— 278 Now the reader will please to observe, I call every extraordinary charge on the necessaries of life that he cannot manufacture himself, a tax. And although there are Dutchmen who live in America, and are said to prosper by having one son a weaver, another a shoemaker, another a taylor, and tan their own leather, &c. this is a miserable way of living: and it may be observed in England, a man that follows many trades seldom enriches himself, or gives comfort to his family. And as it will appear in this work a man with a family is very highly taxed in America to live in the same comfort as people of equal distinction do in England, when he has to buy all the necessaries of life that are wanting for a family, he will require no greater tax, the whole of his labours will be consumed. Now to a farmer, or a man who is a judge of stock, there is not the same opportunity as in England to make use of either his money or judgment, as there are no public fairs, consequently he cannot exchange his cattle in the same manner to equal advantage. For instance, in horse-dealing, although the Americans are very fond of horses, there is a Mr. Hardy, in Philadelphia, formerly a horse-dealer in

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England, and then kept the first tavern in the place, who is likewise a livery-stable-keeper and jobman; he buys horses, and breaks them into coaches, crops and nicks them, and is in all appearance carrying on a great business. I have known a gentleman go three hundred miles to buy a pair of coach horses of him. I was one day sitting in his bar, and he was making many observations what a miserable country America was, and how many inconveniences a man laboured under compared with England: I said, "Mr. Hardy, you must be doing very well;" he shook his head, and said, "No, I am doing nothing: I have sold more horses in one day at Horncastle fair, than ever I sold in a year here:" and he further said, it was his opinion there was more money returned at Honcastle fair in the 281 month of August, for horses, than in the whole of the United States. The reader will observe the many instances mentioned in this work of men of all denominations, who have been equally as much disappointed as myself, which will greatly soften any prejudice that I may have received in the country; and my judgment cannot be very wrong, for Englishmen there are all in one mind. I used frequently to say, "Why do you not leave it; I shall leave it:"—"I wish I could!" was generally the answer. And though it is easy to say—go back, when a man has got his family in that country, returning to England is attended with a very heavy expence. There is one thing I am much astonished at: I meet with many persons who have been in America, and speak well of it. When I was there I do not recollect meeting with more than one man from the old country who liked it, and he was an Irishman, driving a stage coach betwixt Philadelphia and Baltimore: nor can I otherwise account for 282 the conduct of those who so wonderfully change their tone, but from their unwillingness to acknowledge their folly.

To mention the number of disappointed Englishmen I met with in America, would enlarge this volume enormously, but it may be proper to mention one in particular of each denomination. I met, at Mr. Jerry Warder's, a quaker—the most respectable merchant in Philadelphia, and who prided himself on being one of the best of masters, and remarkably fond of Englishmen and farming—an Englishman who was his ploughman, and received one hundred dollars per year, and his board: he had brought over with him one hundred

guineas sterling; and he declared to me he had wasted a great part of his cash, and it was his intention to return to England while he had money to pay for his passage. This case astonished me more than many others, as the character given him by Jerry Warder and Dr. Logan, whom he had served, was that of a sober steady servant. The reason why I 283 particularly inquired after this man's character was, he had offered himself to me at one hundred and twenty dollars per year, as he declared he could not find himself proper necessities for the wages he had received from his former masters: his dislike to their manner of living I did not wonder at, having intermixed servants, negroes, &c. I thought this man of all others I had met with had least reason to complain of his supplies.

As to the American farmer, he knows nothing of England, and but little of his own country; for many of the American farmers are so situated as to see nobody but their own family for several months together: except he be near a town or city, and deal in truck, he has little occasion to leave his home more than once a year, to sell his produce, and bring back the necessities for his family.

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SECTION IX. *The several Kinds of Cattle and Hogs; with an Account of some remarkably fat Calves; some fat Cattle, &c.: the Method of feeding; the Price of Beef and Veal, &c.*

The cattle in America are a mixed kind; very few of any distinct breed: but they are in general, according to the soil and usage, equally good as in any part of Great-Britain. They are from England, Scotland, Holland, and France. The oxen are very good in the yoke, and more tractable than I ever saw them in England. They chiefly draw without horses; and they will run them a trot for miles: they are generally worked to very advanced ages,—ten or twelve years old: some draw by the forepart of the head. When made fat, they weigh from fifty to sixty stone, fourteen pounds to the stone: some are smaller. 285 I have seen a heifer at four years old, killed in Philadelphia, weigh eighty stone.—There was an ox

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shewn at Baltimore, as a sight, that stood seventeen hands high and upwards, supposed to weigh one hundred and twenty stone. These two animals were bred in the Jerseys.

I saw six calves, killed in Philadelphia, that weighed, on the average, sixty pounds per quarter, and cost the butcher one hundred and ninety dollars from the breeder. Some of the hind-quarters weighed seventy-two pounds. These six calves had sucked twenty-three cows, and eaten as much Indian corn and timothy hay as they chose to take. The winter-fed cattle are all fed on Indian corn and blades, or hay. The calves were reared by two Englishmen, brothers, from Essex.

A good cow, properly fed, will give sixteen quarts of milk in twenty-four hours: but that is not common. For want of care in feeding and milking, they frequently give only one quart in twenty-four hours. It is not uncommon for a cow to go unmilked 286 for two or three days, it being sometimes difficult to find them, owing to their pasturing in woods: though it is usual to have a bell hung to them, and the owner knows the tone of the bell: but there are some people who milk them only when they want milk, even when the cattle can be found. Perhaps they have not proper vessels to put the milk in, or they may think it keeps better in the cow's udder: for milk is hard to keep from the frost in winter; and the heat in summer very soon turns it sour; and so they milk it as they want it: which is frequently done. As I was a milker of cows, I tried the experiment for two or three days, of milking but once a day. This was in winter, when we wanted to go to town only once a day with milk; but the milking so seldom caused the cows to decline in their milk very much.

The method of feeding cows in America is in every instance the same as that of feeding hogs in England:—broth, dishwashings, and any filthy stuff, with bran or meal of any kind. The fat cattle are 287 fed on Indian corn, broken in the same manner as we break beans for horses, mixed with bran, chopped straw, or chaff, clover, or timothy hay, blades, &c. and salt regularly given once a week, a large handful to each beast of every kind, whether for fattening or not.

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The price of a cow and calf is from twelve to forty dollars: but the general run of cows are sold from eighteen to twenty-six dollars: what are termed fat calves, from four to eight dollars, to kill at six or eight weeks old; a drupe cow from six to sixteen dollars; a pair of working oxen from seventy to one hundred dollars; beef from four pence to ten pence per pound; veal the same.

There is one gentleman, of the name of Gough, at Perry-Hall, who has procured some imported cattle from near York, in England, something of the Tees-water kind, which he sold very high at the first,—from one hundred to one hundred and twenty dollars for a bull-calf, and, seventy to eighty 288 dollars for heifers, at year-olds: but they are not at all liked. The butchers will not buy a calf of that kind, if they know it: they complain of the flesh being coarse and black. They were not of the best sort when first imported; nor do I believe they would answer in that hot climate, and poor soil.—I think them an improper animal for America. I went to a show of Mr. Gough's, of cattle, and horses of the blood kind; and he had some hogs of the Chinese breed. This was at Perry-Hall, fourteen miles from Baltimore. He has great conveniences for cattle in the winter, only improperly constructed. He has a very large tract of land under cultivation, chiefly Indian corn and rye, with some clover. He has paid great attention to cultivation, and to his cattle and horses: but he is said to be very poor in money, like all cultivators of soil in America, although this gentleman had an uncle who died in England, and left him sixty thousand pounds sterling to realise this property in the beginning. I do not know 289 a more satisfactory proof of its being impossible for a man to enrich himself by cultivating land in America, than this, as Mr. Gough is in every respect calculated to get money, and keep it; and no man can have paid greater attention; and he has all his work done by negroes. Mr. Gough had made a present to General Washington of a bull-calf. The animal was shown to me when I first landed at Mount-Vernon, and was the first bull I saw in the country. He was large, and very strong-featured; the largest part was his head, the next his legs. The General's steward was a Scotchman, and no judge of animals—a better judge of distilling whiskey. Mr. Gough had very great quantities of fruit, particularly apples, which he sold at three

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dollars and a half the barrel, *viz.* two bushels and a half. He likewise made cyder, which he sold at two dollars per barrel. He kept sheep, of the sort from the Cape of Good-Hope. He had rams of that kind for sale; but they are much disliked. He told me U 290 he thought of being a Mr. Bakewell: but it would not do in America. He put me in mind of the quaker in England, who, being asked in court by a counsellor what he meant by saying *likewise* and *also*? replied—"Lord Kenyon is a great lawyer; thou art *also* , but not *like-wise* ."—Thus Mr. Gough was *also* , but not *like-wise* , as Mr. Bakewell. With all Mr. Gough's attention, he is far from being a good judge of animals. He raised a great quantity of potatoes for the use of his cattle and other animals, and every thing seemed to be done in a very proper manner; but, in the choice of his animals, he has acted as many other persons before him—he has thought the largest best.

There are great numbers of hogs, in general of a very inferior kind. The real American hog is what is termed the wood-hog: they are long in the leg, narrow on the back, short in the body, flat on the sides, with a long snout, very rough in their hair, in make more like the fish called a perch than any thing I can describe. You may as well 291 think of stopping a crow as those hogs. They will go to a distance from a fence, take a run, and leap through the rails, three or four feet from the ground, turning themselves sidewise. These hogs suffer such hardships as no other animal could endure. It is customary to keep them in the woods all winter, as there is no thrashing or fold-yards; and they must live on the roots of trees, or something of that sort; but they are poor beyond any creature that I ever saw. That is probably the cause why the American pork is so fine. They are something like the forest-sheep. I am not certain, with American keeping and treatment, if they be not the best: for I never saw any animal live without food, except this; and I am pretty sure they nearly do that. When they are fed, the flesh may well be sweet: it is all young, though the pig be ten years old; and, like pigs in general, they only act as a conveyance, to carry corn to market. The sort of hogs I left in America pay the most for food I ever saw. I fed some half-bred ones, at six months old, that weighed U 2 292 ten stone each—fourteen pounds to the stone. With very little food and care, they kept fat in their growing state.

I had a sow that yielded me one hundred and twenty-five pounds fifteen shillings in eleven months. I sold three hogs to General Ridgely for fifty-six pounds five shillings currency. The pigs were all sold from the sow at seven weeks old, except one. At two litters, she had only twelve, to make the sum.

I will here take the liberty to insert my butcher's bill, as a specimen from the shambles.

Mr. Parkinson Dr. to J S

1799.— £. s. d. Sept. 7. To 31lb. beef, at 8d. per lb. 1 0 8 28. To 9¾lb. ditto, at 11½d. 0 9 2 To 1 beef's head, 0 1 10½ Oct. 2. To 20lb. ditto, at 9d. 0 15 0 12. To 17½lb. ditto, at 10d. 0 14 7 19. To 25lb. ditto, at 10d. 1 0 10 To 1 beef's head, 0 1 10½ 28. To 23lb. ditto, at 10d. 0 19 2 Nov. 13. To 125lb. ditto, at 4d. 2 1 8 20. To 228lb. ditto, at 6d. 5 14 0 Dec. 21. To 216lb. ditto, at 6d. 5 80 £. 18 6 10 By turnips and cattle kept, 6 6 0 £. 12 0 0 293

SECTION X. *The several Sorts of Sheep.*

To my great astonishment, I found sheep of various kinds. There are black-faced sheep, which seem to thrive better, and apparently endure greater hardships, than other sorts. Some of them appear to be from Holland. The sheep from that country are distinguishable by their having no wool at the end of their tails, and bear the name of rat-tailed sheep, or small-tailed sheep.

The American wool, in general, is soft and fine: the housing of their sheep in winter is probably one cause, and the climate and soil may be another. The length of the wool is from four to six inches; the weight from three to four pounds each fleece. There is no regular wool-market. The price is from two shillings to three 294 shillings per pound, and that only in small quantities, from two to ten pounds each person: they will not take the belly or tail wool, consequently there is a deal of cast wool, which is of little or no use;—of the coarsest wool in England listing is made.

It is not at all uncommon there to see the sheep with only the best parts of the wool off, while the head, belly, and tail, remain unclipped; perhaps because it is worth little or

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nothing. Sheep will not thrive without salt once or twice a week, about a handful to ten sheep at each time; and so fond are they of it, that, if you go into the pasture, they will follow you for salt, as a horse would for corn. I do not know what effect salt would have on the sheep in England; but I doubt not of its being of use if they would eat it, and the expence did not over-run the profit. The heat of the sun in summer has such an effect on them as to occasion a discharge at the nose, and they make so great a noise when they draw their breath, that you may hear them at a considerable 295 distance. It is by the Americans called the rot, as the matter is like pus, although I do not think they have a rotten sheep in the country: for I have in their shambles taken great notice of sheep livers, but never saw such a thing as a fluke, or the least appearance of a bad liver.

The Americans have Spanish sheep, and sheep that have been in the West-Indies: these sheep resemble a goat, are of a red and white colour, and have no wool on them. I saw two sheep in Liverpool, that had been two years in the West-Indies: they had no wool on them; but hair like a grey-hound, quite smooth.

In America, I make no doubt, from the food and climate, sheep might clip very fine clothing-wool, as much so as in most parts of the world, were the sheep properly chosen, and caution taken with the rams, for the best with fine wool. The necessary care taken to keep them alive during winter, by housing them every night, and frequently on a severe day, causes the wool to 296 be very soft and fine at the present: but, from the wild manner in which they are managed, at this time the wool is of all sorts, yet soft and inclined to be fine.—It is customary to let the rams and ewes go together the whole year; and from that cause they have lambs very early, and in such weather as astonished me to think how they could exist. Were the rams kept from the ewes until a proper time, the lambs would be better supported by the ewes, and loss of them when young less frequent. The fodder-house is commonly the place where they are put, and fed on the corn-blades, as at that time there is not the least appearance of grass. The time of lambing being chiefly in February and March, the ewes seldom produce twins: I suppose that is from their poverty.

The lamb which is called fat lamb, is rarely to be seen on the shambles in England; nor would the most indigent person touch such poor, lean meat, of any description.

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The method adopted with the sheep by breeders is this: the butcher picks all that he likes out of the flock; and the remainder are kept to breed from; so that, instead of improving, the breed is more likely to degenerate. It is likewise usual to see many rams with the ewes; and, however large a man's flock may be, they all run together. They have no shepherd; nor is there much occasion: for they are never struck by the flies, if they be ever so foul with dirt; which is very extraordinary to me, as there is a greater number of maggot flies in the butchers' shambles, &c. there than in England: nor did I see a scabbed sheep during the whole time I was in America; of which I made a particular observation. They are subject to the foot-rot and the vertigo, the same as in England.

As an English farmer, I have no idea of the mode of treatment, or feeding of sheep, adopted in Spain, to occasion the superior fineness of their fleeces, nor how 298 they manage to pay for it: yet I suppose that there might be very fine wool produced in America, if the profit was adequate to the care and trouble. My present opinion, however, is, that this is not now the case: but that may be from my being accustomed to raise sheep in England at much less expence. I understand the sheep in Spain have salt given to them, nor will those of America thrive without it.

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SECTION XI. *A descriptive Account of the Fowls, tame and wild.*

There are great numbers of fowls raised in America with little care. The warmth of the climate causes them to grow quickly. There is a very large kind from the East-Indies, which is much esteemed for the table; another small kind which is remarkable for laying eggs. There are multitudes of every kind that we have in England, particularly of the game breed: the severity of the weather during the winter seems to have no effect on their laying. In

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summer they require very little feeding, and live chiefly on insects. Fowls ought to be kept, for the purpose of destroying flies and other insects. There are great numbers of turkeys reared; and very fine they are. There are likewise wild turkeys, which are something 300 larger than the tame ones, but so like them, that I should be unable to distinguish the one from the other. They are black, or rather brown, called copper colour.

Fowls sell very high; from one shilling and six pence to three shillings and nine pence, according to the size: turkeys from seven shillings and six pence to fifteen shillings each: eggs from fifteen pence to three shillings and nine pence per dozen. There are geese, the same as in England: they sell from five shillings to seven shillings and six pence, according to the size and fatness. Wild geese are bigger than those of England, and sell for seven shillings and six pence each.

The American ducks are similar to our English ones, but the climate does not suit them so well. In hot weather they appear troubled; and, though continually in the water, seem not revived by it. Wild ducks are plentiful, of different kinds. The sort called canvas-backs is the most delicious I ever tasted: it is rather remarkable, notwithstanding 301 there are thousands of them, they are only to be found in the Potowmac and Susquehanna rivers; they do not go into any other part of America, nor are they ever seen in other waters.

There is a bird which they call an owl, but not at all like ours in England. That bird will seize a grown fowl, and fly away with it, just in the same manner as the hawks and gledes do with chickens in our own country. The bird which they call a Turkey buzzard, is beautiful in shape, something larger than the glade, and in colour like the English buzzard: in some of the states there is a fine of five pounds for shooting a single one of them: they will eat carrion and garbage of every kind; and it is for that reason that people wish to preserve them. These two last-mentioned birds are esteemed fine eating, although they live entirely on stinking flesh and offals.

There are great numbers of Guinea-birds 302 raised, and they thrive well. There are some pigeons, chiefly in boxes, by the sides of houses. From some unknown cause, they do not fly into the fields, like our pigeons. It is said that they came chiefly from France. There appears to be a mixture of tame ones amongst them, as they are usually larger than the British pigeon: the price is eleven pence each.

There are no cuckoos, magpies, or rooks, which would be of universal service to pick up the insects. There is a bird somewhat betwixt a crow and a jackdaw; and there is another, called a blackbird, not much unlike our starling.

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SECTION XII. *On several Kinds of Game. Diversions: Fox-hunting, &c.*

The amusement of shooting (which is called gunning) will give but little pleasure to an English sportsman, as there is very little of what is termed game to be found in any part of America I visited.

The partridge is a small bird, about the size of the quail in England; and is commonly brought alive to market, as young chickens are in England, which in flavour it resembles more than any other thing. Partridges are chiefly taken by negroes, who have a device for snaring whole coveys together, in a box.

The pheasant is about the size of the English partridge, and tastes more like game than the American partridge. Their woodcocks are smaller than ours; the snipe 304 is nearly the same: and the two last-mentioned kinds afford the only amusement worth noticing as a diversion. It is the custom to shoot at every bird that flies, and eat them all. There is not so great a number of birds in America as in England: a hedgeful of sparrows there would make a most excellent day's sport. There are many woodpeckers of different sorts.

Their doves are about the size of turtle-doves, and are good eating. They are taken, in large quantities, in nets or boxes. The contrivance is, to catch four, put out the eyes of two,

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and tie them to a stake with a piece of string to the leg: the other two they then also tie by the leg, with a string sufficiently long to allow them to fly to some distance; and when the bird-catcher sees a flight of these doves, as they fly in very great numbers, he lets these two doves fly to meet them, having previously blackened a sufficient space of ground for the execution of their project, by grubbing up the earth, and strewing it with some sort of 305 food which they like: then the two blind doves are made to keep fluttering so that the large drove can see them. The man, being first secreted in some bushes, draws the two doves down to the black place where the two blind ones are; in consequence of which the whole of the doves light on the part blackened. The man then draws a net over them: and I have been told that in this manner as many as one hundred are taken at a time.

As to hares, they have none. There is a small rabbit, which is sometimes called a hare; it runs into the hollow trees or stumps, and requires rather the axe than the gun to take him. Squirrel-shooting is a favourite diversion: these animals are found in trees, and are sold in the markets to eat, as hares and rabbits are in England. There are many kinds of squirrels (the ground, little grey, great grey, red, black, fox, and flying squirrel) and foxes (the flying fox, black, red, great grey, and little grey fox). Opossums and racoons are another X 306 kind of animal, similar in taste to the squirrels.

The Americans shoot and eat most of these animals as game, except the foxes. They are taken by men who hunt all night with dogs and guns. The better sort of people enjoy no other diversion on horse-back than fox-hunting, which by an English sportsman would be deemed very indifferent pastime. The fox which these night-hunters take, and sell for five or six dollars, is put into a bag, and turned off in some open place, which is never half a mile from a wood; therefore there is only wood-hunting: and, although the woods do not abound with under-wood, yet they contain enough of it to prevent the horsemen from galloping. At Baltimore is an English huntsman, who is well acquainted with the management of hounds. Considering, however, the great irregularities of the hunters, in hallooing and cracking their whips, &c. the hounds perform wonders. Apparently the highest enjoyment of the horsemen 307 is liberty and equality in making an extraordinary

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noise. The foxes do not break away, as with us, but dodge about, somewhat like our hare. Of the red and grey foxes, the only kinds I saw, the red is the best for diversion, and most commonly hunted. They both run very slow, compared with the English fox. The fences, which are usually five or six feet high, are such as are extremely inconvenient to horsemen.

The horses in America generally leap well; they are accustomed to leap from the time of foaling: as it is not at all uncommon, if the mare foal in the night, for some part of the family to ride the mare, with the foal following her, from eighteen to twenty miles the next day, it not being customary to walk much. I think that is the cause of the American horse having a sort of amble: the foal, from its weak state, goes pacing after the dam, and retains that motion all its life. The same is the case with respect to leaping: there being in many X 2 308 places no gates, the snake or worm-fence (which is one rail laid on the end of another) is taken down to let the mare pass through, and the foal follow; but, as it is usual to leave two or three rails untaken down, which the mare leaps over, the foal, unwilling to be left behind, follows her; so that, by the time it is one week old, it has learned to leap three feet high; and progressively, as it grows older, it leaps higher, till, at a year old, it will leap its own height. There are part of the horses raised by a description of men having only one mare, which the owner or his wife rides to market once or twice a week to sell truck: therefore the foal is a traveller from its first existence.

To return to hunting.—The season for this diversion is short; it being a continued frost from December to April: but the hounds hunt in such weather as would deter an Englishman from even making the attempt. Probably on account of the woods preventing the effects of the frost.

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There are deer in the back woods, but none near Baltimore, which they shoot as game; and I have heard the venison praised. I ate of it several times; but it was very indifferent, compared with the venison in England. It was exceedingly poor; and I think no venison

good, except it be fat: nor do I believe any other animal in perfection, except it be fat. These wild deer are of various kinds; the moose, elk, round-horned, caribou, red, croft, roe, and fallow. The moose is so scarce and difficult to take, that Mr. Jefferson told me, when he was in France, and desirous of having one, it cost him seventy guineas to procure the skin, stuffed. There are few or no deer in any of the inhabited parts.

Venison is brought to market in waggons, and sold at the price of beef: it is shocking stuff. It is commonly salted, smoked, and served up raw at breakfast. When dressed in the fresh state, it is usual to cut it into a saddle, by chopping the shanks off about the pope's eye, and just warm it at the fire: every gentleman has a 310 chafing-dish, and may truly be said to be his own cook; for, what with the wood-embers and the stew of the venison, the room is like the kitchen of Dolly's chop-house in London. About eight gentlemen will eat all the flesh off the hind-quarters, and nearly pick the bones. The season when the venison comes to market is from September to March; sometimes with the skin on, sometimes without it.

There is a bird they call a robin, something like our fieldfare, which they shoot. There is another bird, named a whip-poor-Will, which makes such a noise that it is impossible to sleep after three o'clock in the summer's morning; for it comes near to the houses, perhaps in search of food.

In regard to the amusement of fishing, there are very few waters where the angler can make use of the hook and line; the rivers being more like seas, and generally shallow for some distance from the banks, which renders a boat necessary.

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SECTION XIII. *The several Kinds of Fish sold in the Markets.*

Some fish are very numerous in America. Those brought to most of the markets are chiefly fresh-water fish. The American fish-markets are, therefore, not so well supplied as those in England. The Baltimore market consists of rock; perch, white and yellow (the white perch

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very fine, and superior to any I ever saw in this country); eels similar to ours, but not equal in flavour; but, from the number of snakes which are found in the rivers, some people do not like to eat the eels. The rock is large; sometimes weighing sixty pounds, but generally from three to ten pounds. The shad is a good fish. Herrings are taken in great abundance. The last two sorts are a considerable support to the country: they are salted and kept in barrels; from which they 312 are afterwards progressively taken to be hung in the smoke-house, or the chimney-corner, for a few days before they are used.

The herring-fishery lasts only about fourteen days, at the time when they come to spawn, at the latter end of April and May: and they are so numerous at that time, at the Potowmac and Susquehanna, which are the chief rivers for herrings and shads, that while I was dining with Colonel Lyles, of Broad-Creek, near Alexandria, at his fish-house, where they were fishing with their nets, or seine, they took about ten thousand at a draught. I thought that a prodigious quantity: but he told me, that, the season before, he took one hundred and fifty thousand at a draught, and that he covered twenty acres of land with herrings the year before. There are great numbers of waggons from many distant parts, to buy the herrings and shads. The price of herrings is from seven shillings and six pence to eleven shillings per thousand, and of shads thirty shillings per thousand: 313 when cured, the herrings sell for thirty, and shads for forty, shillings per barrel. Herrings are the principal food for thousands of the inhabitants, with Indian corn differently prepared: their drink being—at dinner as well as all other times—tea, coffee, or water. The Colonel told me that fishing, although I thought it so productive, was frequently a losing business; as the expence of nets, and the number of men employed, if they were not successful, caused great loss. The tide prevents them drawing the nets some part of the day.

There is a fish called sheep's head, reckoned very fine. I never saw any of them, and therefore conclude that they are scarce; as I was in the habits of dining at the best public and private tables, and repeatedly enquired for it in the market.

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There is the terrapin (or land-tortoise), weighing about one pound and a half, which is eaten generally at suppers, in taverns, &c. When dressed, the charge is two shillings. I was tempted to taste of it twice: I thought 314 it good. The appearance is as disagreeable as that of an English toad: and as there are no toads in America, it may be considered as the toad. These creatures are found on land. What makes me allude to the toad is, that I put a terrapin in a dunghill, and it remained there three months; and when the dung was moved, it was just in the same state as when put in. There is a small tortoise that lives either on land or in the water: it lays many eggs on the sands, which are hatched by the heat of the sun.—Whether it proceeds from necessity or curiosity that the Americans pay so little regard to the quality of their food, I cannot tell; but I scarcely know any creature, except snakes and foxes, that is not eaten when caught. The terrapin is sold in Philadelphia, in the same manner as oysters, in wheel-barrows.

There are great numbers of oysters, which are in general very large, and hang together from two to six. They are not salt, but watery; therefore to me extremely 315 disagreeable. This sort is generally brought into the tavern-yards by cart-loads, and thrown down like dung. The shell is very thick, and is burnt for lime. One sort, which they call Blue-Point oysters, is very good, and esteemed by some Englishmen superior to any they ever tasted. These are chiefly to be had at New York and Philadelphia: at the latter place, there are two taverns, which, I am told, buy all the oysters that come there, therefore they are scarce. I never saw any cockles.

There are soft crabs, which are reckoned great dainties. Some have a hard shell; and I think them good, though rather watery, and of smaller size than the crabs in England. This fish is found near Annapolis, and is not so plentiful or good in any other part I ever heard of.

There are many small fishes in those markets, not worth noticing—cat-fish, crocus-fish, &c. Those above mentioned are what may be termed neither salt nor fresh-water fish, being a little of both.

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At New-York, there are salmon, cod-fish, lobsters, clams (by some called cockles), &c. but not in plenty. Cod, when brought to Baltimore, generally sold at half a dollar per pound. I am told there are shrimps and prawns.—These, which must be termed salt-water fish, extend, in general, not further to the south of America than Philadelphia: and so scarce are they there, except the cod, that I have heard two of the inhabitants disagree about the shape and size of them: the people of New-York, too, are so far from having a great plenty of them, that they are not able to give any account of the flavour of a shrimp or prawn. I am of opinion that few Americans ever saw either: for I have been in company when two gentlemen have disputed, whether they were really the one or the other. Some say they resemble our cray-fish, or the river-lobster.—Those who maintain that opinion have been in England, and have seen our shrimps and prawns. In the number of fishes, I would wish the reader to observe that I never saw the 317 sheep's-head fish, the salmon, the shrimp, or the prawn.

I had forgotten the mackarel, which I have eaten; they are larger than ours, and equally good. There are also pike, very much like those of England.

The lobsters that I saw resemble those in England, both in flavour and size: but I am told they have them much larger, so as to weigh from thirty to sixty pounds.

The fish I ate in America were in general of a loose watery quality: and, as it is not customary there to have fish-sauce, I did not think them at all comparable to our English fish. Those which are fried are eaten without any thing but the grease they are fried in, generally bacon: the boiled fish is commonly eaten with drawn butter.

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There are no fish-ponds, nor do I apprehend that fish would live in stagnant water in America: it would be so hot in the summer months; and in winter, the ice would be so thick, that they would want air. I made a pond for my horses and cattle to drink at; but in the hot weather they would not touch it.

From the different authors I read before I went to America, I thought the country abounded with the comforts of life in every part: but, on the contrary, I found they are much dispersed, and not to be had even for money. You cannot command them, were they more plentiful than they really are: because, from the great extent of country, they could not be procured in the same convenient manner experienced in most parts of England; where every old woman, if she has the money, can have a penny-worth of shrimps; but this advantage it is not possible to enjoy in America. The climate is in the extreme (hot for eight or nine months, and frost during the remainder); in the hot months, fish cannot be conveyed to any great distance, except in ice; which increases the expence, and renders the carriage heavy. The ice-house is the least part of the business: the getting the ice, and storing thirteen hundred cubic feet of it, is very expensive. A farmer may lead a great deal of dung in an equal portion of time, and to more advantage. It is to be observed, that a man who lives at New-York, or Philadelphia, never sees a crab-fish; while an inhabitant of Annapolis remains equally unacquainted with a salmon, or perhaps a cod-fish. I firmly believe—for the reasons I have just given—that, where there is a single person in those parts who has seen one of those species of fish, there are thousands who never saw either: but salt herrings and some few shads are extended over the whole country. X 15

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